

Prison letters, despite being subjected to the scrutiny of government censors, often supply some of the deepest insights into the mind of a revolutionary. Subhas Chandra Bose's letters from Mandalay certainly underscore the truth of the poetic assertion: "Stone walls do not a prison make, nor iron bars a cage." They make this volume one of the most moving in the 12-volume set of Netaji's Collected Works. Subhas Chandra Bose's exile in Burmese prisons from 1924 to 1927 witnessed the transformation of a lieutenant into a leader. During the non-cooperation movement and its aftermath he had wholeheartedly accepted Deshbandhu Chitta Ranjan Das as his political mentor. The apprenticeship was cut short by Deshbandhu's death in June 1925. When Subhas received this terrible news as a prisoner in Mandalay, he felt "desolate with a sense of bereavement", as he wrote to his friend Dilip Kumar Roy.

Netaji's letters cover a very wide array of topics— art, music, literature, nature, education, folk culture, civic affairs, criminology, spirituality, and, of course, politics. He bore the rigours of prison life with a combination of stoicism and humour.

This volume is indispensable to an understanding of India's greatest revolutionary leader and will interest all historians of modern India.

Cover photos: Top: Subhas Chandra Bose, Chief Executive Officer, Calcutta Corporation, 1924. Middle: Subhas Chandra Bose in Mandalay Prison, 1925. Left: Detail from Subhas Chandra Bose's letter to his brother, 1 May 1926. Bottom: Sarat Chandra Bose, 1926.

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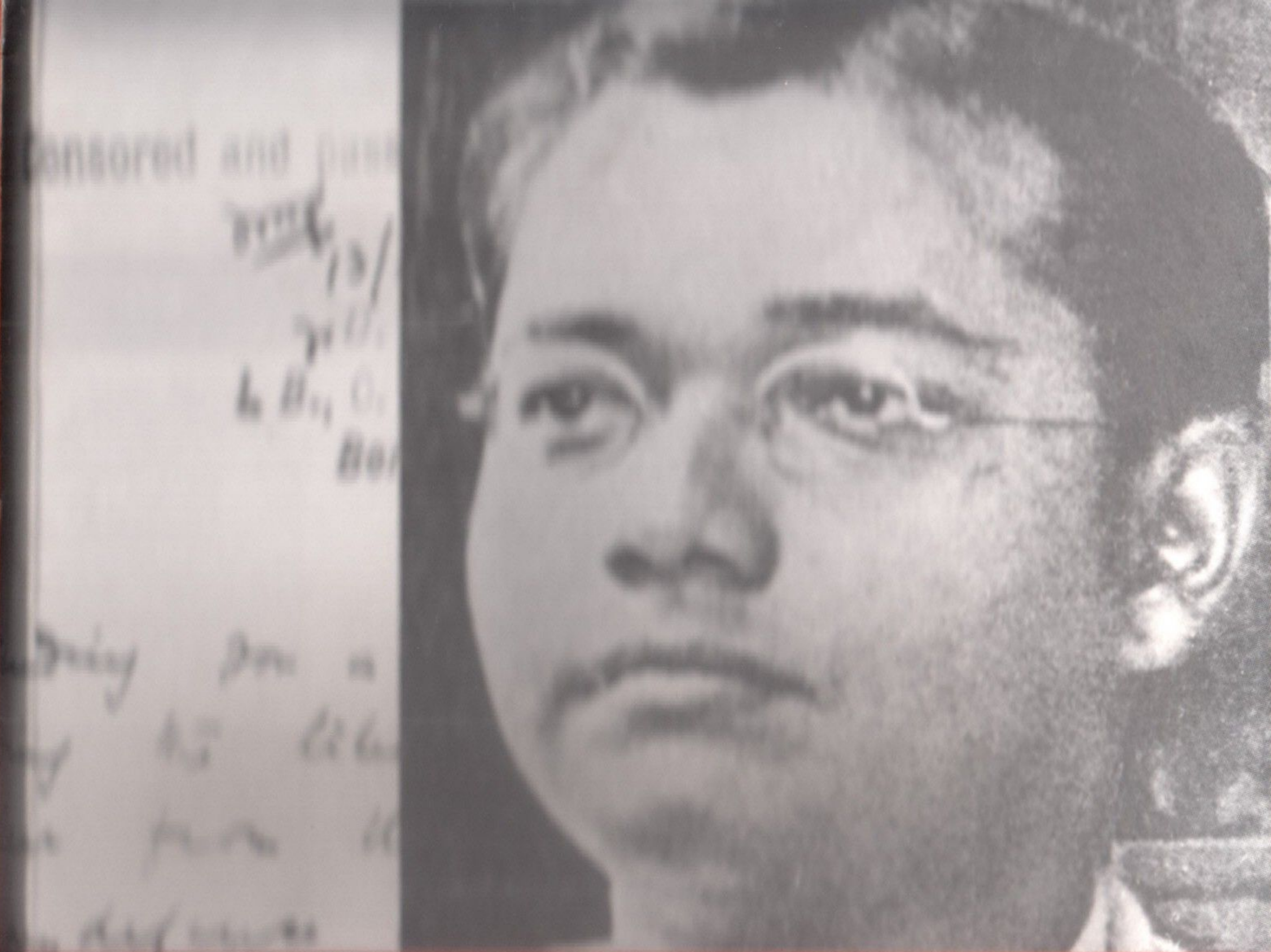


IN BURMESE PRISONS

Correspondence May 1923 — July 1926



BOSE



IN BURMESE PRISONS

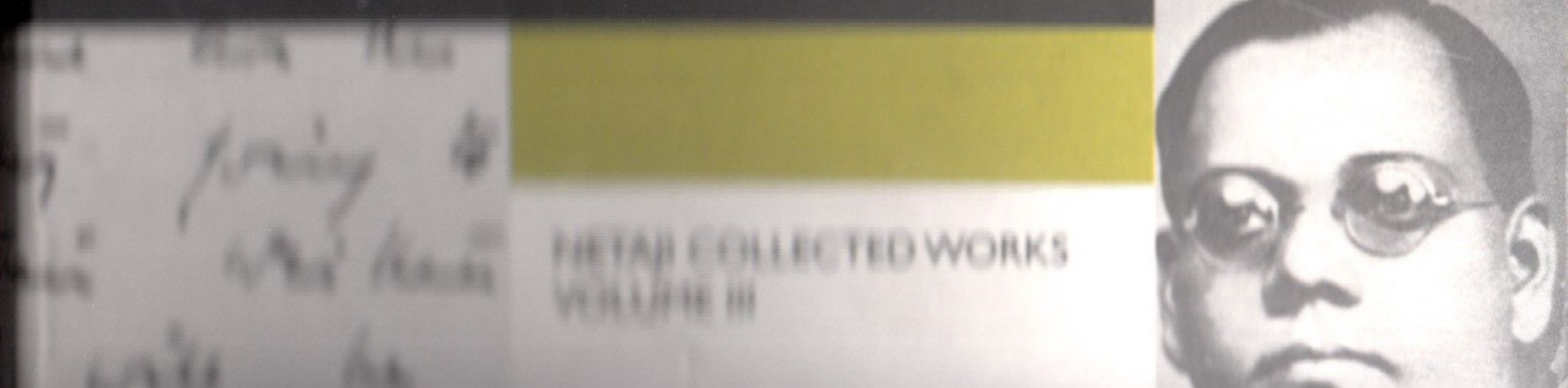
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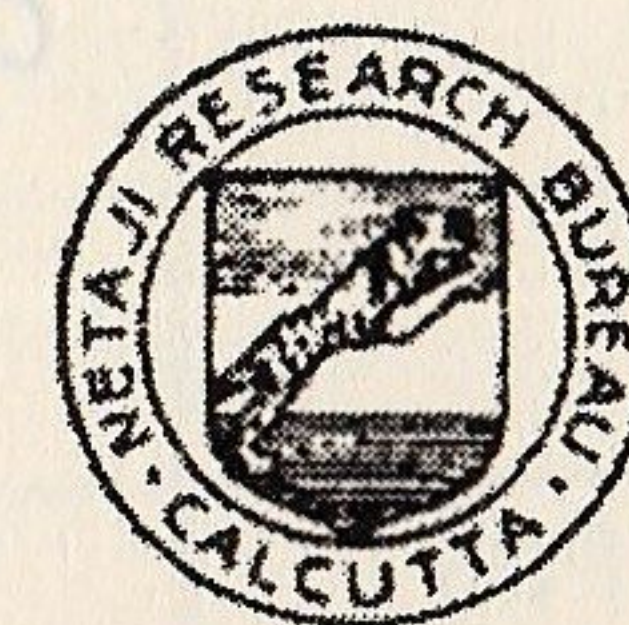
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We take this opportunity once again to express our deep appreciation to Netaji's wife Emilie Schenkl and their daughter Anita Pfaff for having generously assigned the copyright in Netaji's works to the Netaji Research Bureau; this has enabled us to bring an authoritative 12-volume set of Netaji's Collected Works before the public eye.

Foreword to the First Edition

The third volume of Netaji's Collected Works being released on Sarat Chandra Bose's ninety-second birth anniversary (September 6, 1981) consists of a varied and fascinating collection of Netaji's correspondence of the period May 1923 to July 1926. Such a large collection of letters, mostly written by Netaji and many written to him, relating to the early phase of Netaji's public life, is being published in an organized fashion for the first time.

The first few letters reflect the tensions in the Bengal Congress organization resulting from differences in the party on the question of council entry and leading to the formation of two camps, the Swarajist camp led by Deshbandhu C.R. Das and the other consisting of the so-called no-changers. It will be noted that during this time Netaji was first the principal lieutenant of Deshbandhu in the Swarajya Party and then also the Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. A new turn in his career occurred with his appointment as the Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Corporation in April 1924. Although his tenure as such was short-lived because of his arrest and deportation to Burma later in 1924, his letters from prison demonstrate his deep involvement in the city's problems since those early days.

It is recognized that the first major challenge that Subhas Chandra Bose faced in the early years of his active political life commenced with his arrest and exile in Burma in 1924. That experience led to a transmutation of his personality as a whole—physical, intellectual, emotional and ideological—and laid the foundation of the leader that was to come. What we saw of him between his return from Burma in 1927 and the next major turning point in his career in early 1933 stemmed from the preparation in Burmese prisons. The correspondence published in this volume thus makes a most valuable contribution to a

study of this very significant phase of his life. That the Netaji Research Bureau has been able to put together in a systematic manner not only so many letters written by him but also so many that were written to him makes this volume so much more interesting and live. (The fourth volume will subsequently bring another large bunch of continuing correspondence.) The letters published in this volume relate to all possible questions and situations—personal and family relationship, social customs, educational and cultural matters, philosophy, morality and ethics, physiological problems, civic affairs, ideological conflicts, and of course political questions of the time. The letters he wrote to the Government and jail authorities, many of which were found among his prison papers from Burma, provide material relating to the unequal and bitter struggle that a political prisoner in a subject country has to wage against the alien power. Altogether, this correspondence is not merely personal, formal or political, but significantly historical.

Netaji's letters of childhood, adolescence and early youth have been published in the first volume *An Indian Pilgrim* of the Collected Works (Calcutta: Netaji Research Bureau, 1980). The present volume should be taken as a study in continuity. For a fuller appreciation of these letters the reader is advised to refer particularly to the following chapters of the second volume *The Indian Struggle* of the Collected Works (Calcutta: Netaji Research Bureau, 1981): 'Deshbandhu C.R. Das in Power (1924-5)', 'The Slump (1925-7)', and 'In Burmese Prisons (1925-7)'.

The great bulk of the correspondence in this volume is with his brother Sarat Chandra Bose. Apart from being an important source of information, the dialogue between the brothers throws light on a relationship that probably began as an emotional attachment of childhood and youth and which eventually matured into a unique, lifelong and indissoluble comradeship in struggle and suffering. A historical parallel is hard to come by. The letters to Basanti Devi and Bivabati Bose reveal the nature and depth of the writer's personal relationships. Correspondence with his friends, colleagues, and followers, viz., Dilip Kumar Roy, Santosh Kumar Basu, Gopa Bandhu Das, Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyay, N.C. Kelkar, and others are of great interest for a wide variety of reasons.

For the benefit of the increasingly wide circle of readers of Netaji's works, many of whom are not familiar with Bengali expressions and persons mentioned in the text, we have appended some notes on the letters at the end.

SISIR KUMAR BOSE

Introduction to the Paperback Edition

Prison letters, despite being subjected to the scrutiny of government censors, often supply some of the deepest insights into the mind of a revolutionary. Subhas Chandra Bose's letters from Mandalay certainly underscore the truth of the poetic assertion: 'Stone walls do not a prison make, nor iron bars a cage.' They make this volume, first published in 1981, one of the most moving in the 12-volume set of Netaji's Collected Works.

Subhas Chandra Bose's exile in Burmese prisons from 1924 to 1927 witnessed the transformation of a lieutenant to a leader. During the non-cooperation movement and its aftermath he had wholeheartedly accepted Deshbandhu Chitta Ranjan Das as his political mentor. It was a total surrender to a magnanimous and far-sighted statesman who was prepared to make great personal sacrifices for the cause of India's independence and Hindu-Muslim unity. But the apprenticeship was cut short by Deshbandhu's untimely death in June 1925. When Subhas received this terrible news as a prisoner in Mandalay, he felt 'desolate with a sense of bereavement', as he wrote to his friend Dilip Kumar Roy. Subhas's letters to Dilip exemplify the meaning of friendship. They dwell on debates about the equal or unequal human capacity to bear suffering and the question of individual aptitude and sense of fulfilment. Subhas urged Dilip to flood the country with music, while Dilip looked forward to Subhas taking on the mantle of the country's leadership.

Subhas's letters cover a very wide array of topics—art, music, literature, nature, education, folk culture, civic affairs, criminology, spirituality, and, of course, politics. Of the numerous letters to Sarat Chandra Bose, the most evocative perhaps is the one describing a dust storm

followed by torrential rain in Mandalay jail. The letters to Basanti Devi reveal the depths of his devotion to someone he regarded as his second mother. Subhas bore the rigours of prison life with a combination of stoicism and sense of humour. That Tilak had written his commentary on the Gita as a prisoner in Mandalay was an inspiration to Subhas. His appreciation of the lighter side of life comes through in the delightful anecdotes he related in his correspondence with his sister-in-law Bivabati.

The letter to Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyay is of very special interest. Subhas wrote this letter on an impulse because he felt the novelist had been the only one to have penned a truly insightful tribute to Deshbandhu. 'If I had not come here,' he wrote, 'I would never realize the depth of my love for golden Bengal. I sometimes feel as if Tagore expressed the emotions of a prisoner when he wrote: "Sonar Bangla, ami tomæ bhalobashi!"' This song, along with others by Tagore, D.L. Roy, and Kazi Nazrul Islam, figured prominently in an exercise book in which he had transcribed his favourite songs.

Forced inactivity through incarceration also strengthened Subhas's belief that for most people 'action in a spirit of service' ought to be 'the main plank of their sadhana'. He had reverence for Sri Aurobindo who had become 'a dhyani', but he also warned of the dangers of the active side of man getting atrophied through prolonged seclusion. 'For a variety of reasons', he observed in a letter to Dilip, 'our nation has been sliding pauselessly down to the zero line in the sphere of action; so what we badly need today is a double dose of the activist serum, rajas.'

In the mid-1920s Subhas used to gaze as a prisoner at the palace of the last independent king of Burma that had been desecrated by the British in 1885. Between 1943 and 1945 Burma would become Netaji's main sphere of action as he waged an armed struggle for Indian independence at the head of the Azad Hind Fauj. The grave of the last Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar, in Rangoon would become the symbolic centre from which the struggle commenced. It is a remarkable coincidence that Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyay wrote and published his novel *Pather Dabi* during Subhas Chandra Bose's Mandalay years. The book was promptly proscribed by the British government in 1926 as it was thought to be fomenting sedition. The most

stirring passage in the novel occurs in describing the scene at Rangoon harbour where the police are waiting to apprehend a 'Raj-Bidrohi', a rebel against the British king-emperor, who is expected to alight from an arriving ship. The ode to Sabyasachi, the superhuman Bengali revolutionary, in the voice of Apurba, one of the key characters, runs thus:

You have given your all for your country, that is why your country's boats cannot give you passage, you must swim across the river Padma; that is why the highways of your country are closed to you, you must climb over the peaks of forbidding hills and mountains; in some forgotten past it is for you that the first chains had been forged, prisons had been constructed thinking only of you—that is your glory! Who can dare ignore you! These countless guards, this huge armed force, they are all meant just for you! You are able to bear the terrible weight of sorrow, that is why God has placed this heavy burden on your shoulders! Pioneer on the road to freedom! Anti-imperialist rebel of a subject nation! A hundred million tributes to you!¹

The fictional revolutionary slipped the police dragnet prepared for him at Rangoon harbour and the novelist's lines in his honour served both as anticipation and posthumous eulogy for a historical one in subsequent decades. I have heard the passage recited in the original Bengali in impassioned voices on every 23rd January, Netaji's birthday, for as long as I can remember.

SUGATA BOSE

¹ Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyay, *Pather Dabi* (Calcutta: Mukhopadhyay, 1926, third edition 1947), p. 68.

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- 3 Subhas Chandra Bose in Mandalay Prison, 1925
- 4 Subhas Chandra Bose's letter to his brother, 1 May 1926

1. *Subhas Chandra Bose's open letter to Sjt. Shyam Sundar Chakravarty.*

38/2 Elgin Road
9.5.23

Dear Sir,

In view of the impending meeting of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee where important resolutions will be discussed, it will help the members of the B.P.C.C. and the public at large to form their opinion if you kindly answer the following questions. It is needless to say that I am making this request in the public interest. The members of the minority party have in meetings and press announcements made their position quite clear. As the leader of the Majority Party in the Province it is up to you, Sir, to make your position perfectly clear. The public want both parties to lay their cards on the table so that they may be able to judge.

(1) Do you, Sir, believe that without a resort to Civil Disobedience the Bureaucracy in India cannot be brought to terms ?

(2) If the answer be in the negative, what according to your view, is the means of bringing pressure on the Bureaucracy to make them concede to popular demands ?

(3) If, however, the answer be in the affirmative do you, Sir, hold that there is any possibility of starting Civil Disobedience on a large scale within the next six months ?

(4) If there is such a possibility how in your opinion is the country at large to be prepared for a campaign of Civil Disobedience ?

(5) If there is no such possibility, do you, Sir, think it fair and honest to appeal to the country for men and money for preparing for Civil Disobedience ?

(6) In this connection, do you think, Sir, that the collection of 50,000 volunteers and 25 lakhs of rupees will automatically prepare the country for Civil Disobedience ?

(7) Are you not aware, Sir, that according to the Allahabad compromise, the members of the minority party were to help in working the constructive programme and not in preparing for Civil Disobedience of which, in their opinion, there was no possibility in the near future?

(8) Are you not aware, Sir, that this matter was pointed out at Jessore and that in order to secure unanimous support, the minority party wanted to pass a resolution for the collection of men and money, not for Civil Disobedience but for the furtherance of the constructive programme?

(9) Are you not aware, Sir, that that resolution was ruled out of order by you as President?

(10) If the answer be in the affirmative, can you, Sir, honestly blame the minority party for not doing their utmost in collecting men and money for preparing the country for Civil Disobedience in accordance with the Gaya programme?

(11) Is it not a fact, Sir, that at Jessore a resolution was brought before the Subjects Committee by a member of the minority party asking for a compromise between the two parties according to the principle of "live and let live"?

(12) Is it not a fact, Sir, that that resolution was ruled out of order by you as President?

(13) If the answer be in the affirmative, can you, Sir, honestly say that the minority party have refused, "to worship in the same temple" with the majority party?

(14) Do you, Sir, maintain that as non-co-operators we should have nothing to do with public bodies such as Union Boards, Municipalities, Local Boards, District Boards and Legislative Councils?

(15) If the answer be in the affirmative, how do you reconcile your view with the fact that Mahatma Gandhi himself was in favour of capturing the Boards and the Municipalities and that almost all the prominent leaders of the majority party have either already entered or are trying to enter the Boards and the Municipalities?

(16) Would you, Sir, urge that in holding such a view

Mahatma Gandhi and the prominent leaders of the Majority Party have not been true to the spirit of non-co-operation?

(17) Do you, Sir, approve of the step which Srijuts Rajagopalachari, Ansari, Moazzam Ali, Syed Mahmud and Mrs. Naidu took in recommending a compromise with the minority party on the following conditions?

- (a) Congress to fight the elections.
- (b) Both parties to work the constructive programme.
- (c) Both parties to assist in preparing the country for Civil Disobedience.
- (d) Party difference to cease.

(18) Do you, Sir, maintain that the members of the minority party have no right to be called Congressmen and that they should forthwith leave the Congress?

(19) Would you, Sir, be glad if the minority party adopted such a course?

Yours respectfully,
SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

2. Letter to Abdul Matin Chowdhury

BENGAL PROVINCIAL SWARAJYA COMMITTEE

148, Russa Rd. South
Calcutta
Dated the 21-5-1923.

My dear Mr. Chowdhury,

Your card is to hand. I am trying to send you some money as soon as possible. I sent a telegram to you enquiring about Abdul Hamid Sahib. I was informed by the Telegraph Office that under orders from the Deputy Commissioner the telegram was intercepted. I have wired to Moulvi Abdul Hamid to start for Bombay but I do not know whether he will get the telegram or be able to start.

Yours sincerely,
SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

3. *Subhas Chandra Bose's letter to the Editor of Amrita Bazar Patrika.*

38/2 Elgin Road
Calcutta, June 4, 1923

Sir,

My attention has been drawn to certain inaccurate reports that have appeared in some of the Calcutta papers, of what I said at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay. I stated at that meeting that the boycott of the Bengal Legislative council along the old lines would be a failure. The last bye-election in Calcutta at which nearly forty per cent of the voters voted in spite of the complete inactivity of the Swarajya Party and the vigorous anti-council propaganda of the majority party, bore testimony to what I said. I added that there were two bills, dealing with university matters and tenancy rights, which might come up before the next council. These two bills were of such vital interest to the intelligentsia, the middle classes and the masses that whatever might be the attitude of the Congress with regard to the Councils the great mass of voters in Bengal were in my opinion sure to send their representatives to the Council at the next election. I concluded that under such circumstances, anti-council propaganda in Bengal appeared to me to be utterly futile.

I never mentioned what would be the attitude of the Swarajya Party with regard to the two bills mentioned above. That appeared to me to be quite unnecessary as the attitude of the Swarajya Party on the refusal of its demands could only be one of uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction.

The object of my speech was simply to show that owing to certain circumstances prevailing in Bengal, anti-council propaganda in that province was bound to end in nothing.

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

4. *Letter to Abdul Matin Chowdhury*

BENGAL PROVINCIAL SWARAJYA COMMITTEE

148, Russa Rd. South
Calcutta

Dated the 20th June, 1923

My dear Mr. Chowdhury,

Your letter to Kiran Babu is to hand. I have sent by Telegraph Money Order today the sum of Rupees one hundred. I hope I shall be able to send the balance of Rs. 150/- within a few days. But I think I shall have to give some money for the travelling expenses of members who come for the meeting of the B.P.C.C. However that can be done when you come here.

The most important item in the agenda of the meeting of the B.P.C.C. will be the consideration of the Bombay compromise. If we succeed in passing that, then there is a possibility that the president, Sham Babu, and the Secretary, Praphulla Babu, may resign. If Sham Babu and Praphulla Babu do resign then there may be a re-election. For the election we may put up Moulana Abul Kalam Azad for the Presidentship and I may stand for the Secretaryship, failing a better man. There is every possibility that in the event of a re-election, the no-changers may put forward Moulvi Mujibar Rahman for the post of Secretary.

Please consider these circumstances and if you think you can rely on any member for his support, you can bring him along to Calcutta. There is nothing else to consider regarding the proceedings of the meeting. I leave it to you to judge whom you should bring along. Of course we do not want anybody who will come and vote against us. Please also see that no-changers don't attend that meeting as that will be a partial gain to us.

If the Telegraphic Money Order be intercepted, please send me a wire in somebody else's name, and I shall send the money to Mohommed Elias to be delivered to you. I

have met Moulvi Md. Abdulla from Sylhet. He came with a letter from you.

Yours sincerely,
SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

5. *Subhas Chandra Bose's letter to the Editor of Amrita Bazar Patrika published on Thursday the 25th July 1923.*

38/2 Elgin Road
24.7.23

Sir,

It is high time to raise one's voice in protest against the manner in which public meetings are being convened. A meeting was held on the 18th July last at Mirzapur Park and it was expected that the organiser or organisers of the meeting would invite all the prominent leaders then resident in Calcutta. I know that Sriyut Das was not invited to the meeting on that occasion till I arrived at the meeting and suggested to one of the prominent organisers that he should go and invite Sriyut Das. Unfortunately the public are not aware of these unpleasant facts and they consequently draw their own conclusions.

On Monday the 23rd July I saw in the "Servant" notices of meetings to be held on the 25th and 26th July in connection with the Turkish Peace celebrations. I found my name appearing as one of the conveners. Unfortunately for me, my fellow conveners did not think it necessary even as a bare act of courtesy to inform or consult me about the meetings before sending the notices to the press.

This morning another notice appeared in the "Servant" cancelling the meeting on the 25th and announcing that two meetings would be held on the 26th July. This notice, too, had my name as one of the signatories but no one cared to inform me before sending the notice to the press that this important change in the programme was being made.

I consider it absurd to hold two public meetings on the same day and at two different places. Further, it is still more absurd to hold a public meeting on a working day at

2 p.m. in the afternoon at a place like the Town Hall when another meeting is going to be held on that day elsewhere at 4.30 p.m. for the same purpose. I would therefore request my fellow conveners to cancel the meeting at 2 p.m. in the Town Hall and have one meeting in the evening in some park and have all the speakers then. I hope my appeal will not be in vain.

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

6. *Subhas Chandra Bose's letter to the Editor of Amrita Bazar Patrika concerning B.P.C.C. meeting.*

38/2 Elgin Road
9.8.23

Sir,

I am surprised at the controversy which has been raised regarding the requisitioned meeting of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. Can there be any reasonable doubt that the Secretary has violated not only the spirit but also the letter of the rules regarding the holding of such meetings? Rule 23 of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee deals with ordinary meetings. It gives the right to the members to have a meeting called against the wish of the Secretary. The opposition in rule 24 is not the opposition between giving notice and holding meeting but between the Secretary's right and the right of the members to hold a meeting. The secretary has taken advantage of the use of the word "call" and argues that all that he is obliged to do is to give notice of the requisitioned meeting within 15 days. Let me point out that even if his interpretation is correct he has not given notice of the meeting of the 15th August within 15 days from the date of requisition viz, the 10th July. The notice according to such an interpretation should have been given on the 30th and not on the 31st. Therefore even on his own showing the meeting of the 15th is illegal and ultra vires. On the 30th according to the same interpretation the right to call the requisitioned meeting had already been vested in the requisitionists.

But such an interpretation is absurd. The word "call" in rule 24 clearly means "hold". The question of notice is not dealt with by rule 24 at all but by rule 25. The scheme of the rules is quite clear. Rule 23 as I have said before, deals with the holding of extraordinary meetings. It provides that the secretary may of his own motion hold such an extraordinary meeting whenever necessary. The discretion is left there entirely with the secretary. But to prevent his acting arbitrarily on an occasion when a meeting is considered necessary by the members the rule provides that if a requisition is signed by not less than 20 members, the secretary shall call such a meeting. Is it to be argued that the secretary can defeat the object of the required meeting by holding that meeting at any time? That this is not so, is abundantly clear from the last part of that very rule. That part says "That if the Secretary fail to call the meeting required by requisition, the requisitionists may themselves call the meeting." Thus it is abundantly clear that with regard to the requisitioned meeting the power is taken away from the secretary and if he does not call such a meeting to be held within 15 days as required by the requisition, it is the requisitionists and the requisitionists alone who can call that meeting. Otherwise the words "the meeting required by the requisitionists" would have no meaning and the provision itself which secures the right of the requisitionists as against that secretary would be meaningless. It is unnecessary to point out that the right of the requisitionists is not to have a notice issued (which may be useless) but to have the meeting held. It should also be borne in mind that in this case requisition required that notice of the meeting should be given in such a way that the meeting may be held within 15 days from the date of requisition. Thus "the meeting required by the requisitionists" in this case is a meeting which must be held within 15 days of the date of requisition.

Let me illustrate this point. The Executive Council of the B.P.C.C. resolved that nobody who becomes a member of the Congress Committee after the 31st May is entitled to be a delegate of the special session of the Congress or to

vote at the election of such delegates. According to us this rule is arbitrary and illegal. Therefore we have got a right to have the meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee called to set aside such a provision. If the word "called" in section 24 merely means to give notice the secretary may declare that the requisitioned meeting will be held after the special session of the Congress. That would absolutely defeat the right of the requisitionists. It is no answer to say that the secretary would not act unreasonably. The rule assumes that the secretary may act unreasonably and therefore provides against it. Otherwise the only provision which is necessary is that the requisitionists should request the secretary to call a meeting. Again it is not an answer to say that on this occasion the 15th August is not an unreasonable date. The question as to whether that date is reasonable or unreasonable under the circumstances is a question which has nothing whatsoever to do with the right of the requisitionists to hold a meeting which they are going to hold on the 11th.

But it may be asked why the requisitionists do not agree to discuss at the meeting of the 15th. The answer is obvious. The election which the requisitionists consider to be illegal will have advanced a great way, even if it is not completed by the 15th August. Again by the manner in which the secretary and the Council have acted ever since the Bombay meeting of the A.I.C.C. they have lost our confidence. At the B.P.C.C. meeting many of them gave us the impression that they would resign but they have not done so yet. By the rules they framed for the election of delegates to the special session of the congress they want to shut out all who became members after the 31st May, although the special session is called to take stock of the changed situation in the country. Some of the election officers have arbitrarily struck out the names of many who stood as candidates for election to the B.P.C.C. The result is that we do not trust the executive any longer. If the requisitionists surrender the right which has, as I have shown, accrued to them to call the requisitioned meeting, what guarantee is there that the secretary will not again

postpone the meeting for, say, another fortnight, so that in the meantime the election of the delegates and that of the members of the B.P.C.C. may be completed before the meeting is held? As matter stands such election may be completed before the 15th August. Members of the public will please bear in mind that when the secretary gave notice of the meeting to be held on the 15th August, he knew full well that the special session of the Congress was to come off about the middle of August. He also knew that one of the objects of the requisitionists was to question the procedure regarding the election of delegates. His object therefore, in calling the meeting so late as the 15th August was clearly to defeat the object of the requisitionists and to have the delegates elected in a manner which the requisitionists regard as questionable and objectionable.

Further could it not be urged later on by some enthusiastic no-changer that the secretary not having the power to call the requisitioned meeting, the meeting of the 15th was invalid and, therefore, the steps taken at that meeting were "ultra vires"? Why should the requisitionists imperil their cause in this way?

The Secretary has undoubtedly failed to do his duty according to both interpretations, as I have shown. The right to call a requisitioned meeting accrued to the requisitionists before the secretary's notice of the 31st July. The meeting of the 11th August is therefore a valid meeting and the meeting of the 15th August is quite invalid. I therefore request all members of the B.P.C.C. to attend the meeting on the 11th August.

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

7. *Subhas Chandra Bose's letter to the Editor of Amrita Bazar Patrika concerning Akhil Chandra Dutt and Swarajya Party.*

Saturday, October 27, 1923

Sir,

It is a matter of deep regret that I should have to take up my pen to write something against Mr. Akhil Chandra

Dutt of Comilla. But the manner in which Mr. Dutt has been carrying on his propaganda in the press and among the public has compelled me to do so.

In his letter to the press dated the 20th October Mr. Dutt has dwelt upon many facts of which I am not aware. I shall therefore content myself with simply referring to a few statements which he has made. Mr. Dutt says, "There is a conspiracy against me in the Swarajya Office etc." When Sh. H.K. Sarkar contradicted the report that Mr. Dutt was the Swarajya Party candidate from the Tipperah constituency, almost all the members of the Swarajya Party were away at Delhi. For myself I can say that I heard about Hemanta Babu's contradiction, for the first time after my return from Delhi. Mr. Dutt himself states in his letter that Deshabandhu Das told him that he knew nothing about Hemanta Babu's contradiction and that he regretted that such a thing had happened. I hope that even in his frenzied state of mind Mr. Dutt will not go to the length of questioning the truth of this statement of Deshabandhu. How then can he set a conspiracy against him among the members of the Swarajya Party? Mr. Dutt pleads that he has not been treated fairly by the Swarajya Party but I am surprised that he does not realise that by accusing the members of the Swarajya Party of a conspiracy against him he has treated them most unfairly. I can assure Mr. Dutt—whether he will accept my assurances I do not know—that till his last interview with Deshabandhu, the consensus of opinion within the ranks of the Swarajya Party was predominantly in his favour.

I have asked myself over and over again how a man of Mr. Dutt's stamp could stoop so low as to seek the aid of inaccurate statements and offensive insinuations in a matter which I regard as comparatively petty. From the point of view of the public it does not matter very much whether Mr. I. B. Dutt, or Mr. A. C. Dutt is returned to the local council. From what I know of them I have no doubt that either of them if returned would uphold the popular cause in the council. Nevertheless we in a body were in favour of Mr. A. C. Dutt out of respect for his past services

and his long association with the Congress. It is only when we found that Mr. Dutt was not amenable to party discipline, was not prepared to put the interests of the party or of the public in general above his own personal inclinations—that we were reluctantly forced to change sides. I was present at the interview between Deshabandhu and Mr. Dutt, and I can say that Mr. Dutt could not advance any reasons apart from personal ones for refusing to stand for the Assembly. Mr. Dutt pleaded that by standing for the Assembly and retiring from the local council, he would displease his friends and become the laughing-stock of his opponents and under such circumstances life would be intolerable for him at Comilla. When told by Deshabandhu that probably an unconscious sense of vanity stood in the way of his retiring voluntarily from the local council he had nothing to say in reply. It was perfectly clear to anyone who was present at that interview that the whole fight between the two Dutts was a purely personal one.

Mr. Dutt had become a member of the Swarajya Party before the question of his candidature could be considered. The rules of the party require its members to be thoroughly amenable to party discipline. If Mr. Dutt had been a true Swarajist he would, like a man of honour have submitted to the decision in a sporting spirit. Such an act on his part would have proved his largeness of heart. But because the party, or the leader of the party did not, rightly or wrongly, espouse his cause he has now accused the whole party of a conspiracy against him.

Mr. Dutt says, "Mr. Das has now thought it fit to set aside the nomination already made by the Council of the Swarajya Party in my favour etc." This statement is grossly inaccurate. When Deshabandhu was appealing to Mr. Dutt to stand for the Assembly he was doing that not on his own behalf but on behalf of the majority of the members of the party. Further Mr. Dutt's candidature at an early stage was supported not in a formal meeting of the Council of the Swarajya Party but in an informal gathering of its members. Hence it is not open to Mr. Dutt to say "Mr. Das has now thought it fit to set aside the nomination already

made by the Council of the Swarajya Party". Mr. Dutt insinuates that Deshabandhu said that he was indispensable for the Assembly but not fit for the Bengal Council. I do not think that Deshabandhu ever questioned Mr. Dutt's fitness either for the Bengal Council or for the Assembly. Further I have grave doubts as to whether Deshabandhu said that any third rate man could be sent to the local councils. So far as Mr. I. B. Dutt is concerned I am sure that Deshabandhu does not regard him as a third rate man.

Mr. Dutt suggested to Deshabandhu that Indu Babu might be sent to the Assembly. Mr. Dutt has given some reason (of his own making no doubt) why Mr. Das did not approve of Indu Babu's candidature for the Assembly. These reasons which I need not repeat here are neither flattering to Mr. I. B. Dutt nor fair to Deshabandhu Das. Mr. Dutt has carefully omitted the real and primary reason why Deshabandhu could not insist on Indu Babu's standing for the Assembly. I clearly remember that at the last interview between Deshabandhu and Mr. Dutt the former told the latter that Indu Babu having suffered from a type of consumption had been strongly advised by doctors not to reside in any place two thousand feet above the sea level. As the members of the Assembly have to stay in Simla during a portion of the year Deshabandhu could not make a proposal to Indu Babu which might in the long run have cost him his life.

Mr. Dutt suggests openly that his candidature was rejected because he did not contribute to the party fund and that Indu Babu was accepted only because he contributed to the Swarajya Fund and in particular towards the expenses of the delegates. I can assure Mr. Dutt that except a small sum paid by a Tipperah gentleman (not Mr. I. B. Dutt) the expenses of these Tipperah delegates whose means were inadequate were borne by the party fund and Mr. I. B. Dutt did not in any way help us. It is therefore grossly unfair to both Indu Babu and the Swarajya Party for Mr. Dutt to make such a damaging remark.

The position of our party is perfectly clear. Our object has all along been to utilise, if possible, the service of both

the Dutts in the cause of our party. The only solution for us was to request one of the two rival candidates to seek election to the Assembly. It could have been much easier for Indu Babu to stand for the Assembly and for us to insist on his doing so, had he not been physically incapacitated. This was made perfectly clear to Mr. Dutt and he was therefore welcomed by us as a candidate for the Assembly.

I distinctly remember that Mr. Dutt told Deshabandhu that the Swarajya Party's influence did not count for much and that other factors would decide the fate of the elections. It is only because that he had such a notion about the party and its influence that on being offended with regard to his personal likes or dislikes he could so readily flout all party discipline and start a campaign or as we might call it—a crusade against the members of the Swarajya Party.

When Deshabandhu last met Mr. Dutt he argued with and appealed to him for about 4 or 5 hours in order to persuade him to stand for the Assembly. Party discipline, generosity and courtesy demanded of him compliance with Deshabandhu's request. It now appears that Mr. Dutt had become a member of the Swarajya Party without being prepared to submit himself to party discipline and presumably only with the object of furthering his chances at the coming election. I can assure Mr. Dutt that it is his irrational obstinacy in the face of all appeals that has lost him the support of the majority of the members of the Swarajya Party.

Mr. Dutt insinuates or rather suggests that candidature as a Swarajya member can be purchased with money. I would respectfully ask Mr. Dutt to go through the list of Swarajya candidates and enquire into their pecuniary condition. He will then be satisfied that the patronage of the Swarajya Party is not a marketable commodity.

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

38/2 Elgin Road
26-10-23

8. *Subhas Chandra Bose's letter to the Editor of Amrita Bazar Patrika concerning B.P.C.C. annual meeting.*

Sunday, December 9, 1923

Sir,

I beg to bring to your notice certain inaccurate statements which have crept into the reports of the annual meeting of the B.P.C.C. published in the "Servant" of the 1st and 3rd December.

At the outset I may say that the meeting was held not in the office of the B.P.C.C. but at the Albert Institute Hall.

It is said in the report of the 1st December that S.J.C.R. Das and other members of his party raised some discussion on the item of workers' allowance and the donation to the "Servant." I may point out that the discussion was opened by S.J. Jadu Nath Pal of Faridpur, a no-changer, who wanted detailed information regarding some of the items in the Auditor's Report. This discussion was continued by other members of both parties and they by repeated enquiries, asked for detailed information on other items. I am surprised to find that party politics has been introduced even into a report of the discussion dealing with the accounts of the B.P.C.C. I told the House that I could not supply detailed information that evening partly because the vouchers were with the Auditor and partly because the accounts dealt with the period during which I was not the Secretary. I therefore wanted time to lay before the House all the information that was desired and an adjournment of the meeting had therefore to take place. During the discussion it was proposed by S.J. Hardayal Nag that the accounts be adopted while S.J. Purushathama Roy, also a no-changer proposed that a sub-committee be formed for the purpose of considering the accounts. An attempt was evidently made to cut short the discussion. In referring to this S.J. C. R. Das said that since the accounts were discussed only once during the whole year it would not be right to stifle discussion by accepting either the resolution of S.J. Nag or of S.J. Purushathama Roy. He also said that the B.P.C.C. should protest strongly against the action of the

All-India Congress Committee in taking into its fund the money which had been raised in Bengal and which should have rightly gone into the fund of the B.P.C.C. On this point it was clear that he had the support of both parties and a no-change member from Burdwan Sj. Jagadish Ch. Sen Gupta together with Sj. Purushthama Roy spoke in support of what he said.

Regarding the adjournment of the meeting I may point out that was inevitable as the information wanted by the House could not for the reason stated above be supplied that evening. The only question was whether the other items of the agenda should be taken up that evening or whether the entire agenda should be postponed till the next sitting. As it was past 8 o'clock it was round impossible to take up the next item on the agenda which would require at least 3 hours. The reason why the meeting was adjourned till Sunday and not Saturday was that there was a meeting of the Khilafat committee in the afternoon and more than one public meeting in the evening of that day (Saturday) for the purpose of discussing the chairman's report. The meeting could not be held on Saturday morning because I required time to consult the Auditor and get all the information required by the House.

It is preposterous and positively insulting to say that the President was bullied into adjourning the meeting and I hope everybody will agree that the President Sj. Lalit Mohan Das did what he thought proper under the circumstances. I am surprised that the report does not mention the undeniable fact that certain members of the no-change party rudely and defiantly questioned the authority of the President in adjourning the meeting. I need not refer to the language that was uttered behind the President's back.

In the report published in the "Servant" of the 3rd December curious headlines followed by certain inaccurate statements appeared. In the co-option of one member from South Calcutta the names of Messrs. B. Chakrabarti and B. C. Pal and Sj. Hemendra Chandra Das Gupta among others were proposed. Sj. Das Gupta was co-opted partly because he is a prominent and active worker of that quarter

and partly because it was not known whether Messrs. Chakrabarti and Pal were really desirous of being members of the B.P.C.C. I may go further and say that several members of the House thought that their names (viz, of Messrs, Pal and Chakrabarti) had been proposed only as a party move for the purpose of thwarting the co-option of Sj. Das Gupta. I can assure Messrs. Chakrabarti and Pal that if they really desire to become members of the B.P.C.C. there are many, including myself, who would even now be too glad to make room for them.

An explanation is also necessary why Sir P. C. Roy and Sj. Shyam Sundar Chakravarty were not elected. The latter's name was never brought before the House and the members therefore did not have any opportunity of voting. The reason why his name was not brought before the House was that it was not known whether judging from his present attitude he would like to be a member of the B.P.C.C.

Sir P. C. Roy's name was proposed along with that of Moulana Abul Kalam Azad and some others for co-option from North Calcutta. The House had to decide which of the two (viz. Sir P. C. Roy and Moulana Azad) was to be chosen. From the point of view of the Congress I do not think the B.P.C.C. acted wrongly in preferring Moulana Azad to Sir P. C. Roy. Sir P. C. Roy's name would have been proposed for co-option from other constituencies but there again it was not known what his real intention was and several members rightly or wrongly regarded the proposal of his name as merely a party move. It is not true that Sj. C. R. Das voted against the co-option of Sir P. C. Roy.

It is not right that Mr. Das gave out that he would not accept the Presidentship even if there was a single dissentient voice. I do not know to whom Mr. Das made this declaration. I was asked by members of the no-change party whether Mr. Das would accept the presidentship if offered to him. I replied that I was not fully aware of his attitude but if there was no dissentient voice I would accept the responsibility of persuading him to accept the office even against his will. I do not know how far from this it

would be concluded that he would not accept the presidency even if there was a single dissentient voice.

It is not true that in the Executive Council there are only 5 or 6 members belonging to the no-change party. The number is certainly larger and if no-change members who are elected decline to accept office, certainly the B.P.C.C. is not to blame. With regard to the 24-Parganas election dispute it is a positive mis-statement to say that the "President Mr. Das ruled that the decision of the sub-committee was right". The President's ruling was that the sub-committee had the power to set aside the election as conducted by the Returning Officer, but whether the Sub-Committee rightly set aside the election in the present instance was a question for the House to decide. I may say in this connection that the mover of the resolution wanted a ruling from the President as to whether the sub-committee had the power to set aside the election and did not want to enter into the merits of the question.

In conclusion, Sir, I cannot help expressing regret and surprise that in a responsible daily paper unauthorised reports brimming with inaccuracies should appear. As the press is ordinarily excluded from the B.P.C.C. Committee meetings one can expect responsible daily papers to wait for authorised reports of the Secretary.

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
Secretary B.P.C.C.

9. *Subhas Chandra Bose's letter to the Editor of Amrita Bazar Patrika published on Wednesday March 19, 1924.*

Sir,

I desire to associate myself in every way with the attempt that is being made to perpetuate the memory of the Late Prof. Mr. M. Ghosh. Though I never had the privilege of being a direct pupil of his, I did have occasion to come into contact with him while I was a student at the Presidency College and I can say that I was profoundly

impressed by his quiet personality. It is because of his quietness and shyness, so characteristic of a true scholar that he could not make himself more widely known during his lifetime. Nevertheless all literary people and the student community in general who can distinguish between fame and true worth always held him in high esteem and will continue to do so in future. When I was at the Presidency College I did not know of any other professor who, in the matter of erudition and scholastic merit, commanded greater respect than the late professor.

There is another aspect of the late professor's character to which I can bear direct testimony. As a student I was connected with several charitable organizations and in that connection whenever I had occasion to approach him, his response was always very cordial. As a professor, unlike the rank and file, he cared very little for promotion and increment of pay. His very sight gave the impression of a scholar immersed in the study of his favourite books.

It is in the fitness of things that steps should be taken to perpetuate his memory and in this connection I beg to suggest that when sufficient funds are collected a bust should be prepared. The memorial should not in my opinion be kept at the Presidency College but in some public hall or library, where the public can have free access. I am sure that everyone who is interested in literature including students, teachers and professors will contribute liberally to a fund which is raised for the purpose of erecting a fitting memorial to the late Professor Ghosh.

SUBHAS CH. BOSE

The 10th March 1924
38/2 Elgin Road
Calcutta

10. *Subhas Chandra Bose's letter to the President of Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.*

Friday, April 25th, 1924

Sir,

Owing to many preoccupations I find it impossible for me to do justice to the post of Secretary, Bengal Provincial

Congress Committee which I had the honour to hold for some time past. I am therefore resigning that post. I hope you will call a meeting of the Committee as early as possible in order to fill up the vacancy.

I have the honour to be,

Yours faithfully,

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

38/2 Elgin Road
Calcutta

11. *Subhas Chandra Bose's letter to the Secretary of Calcutta Corporation.*

38/2 Elgin Road
Bhowanipur, Calcutta
23rd April, 1924

To

The Secretary to the Calcutta Corporation, Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

I understand that my name is going to be proposed for the Chief Executive Officership of the Corporation at this afternoon's General Meeting of the Corporation.

I beg to notify to the Corporation through you that I am related by blood to Alderman Srijut Sarat Chandra Bose, he being an elder brother of mine.

I shall feel obliged if you will place this letter before the Mayor of the Corporation and take his directions regarding reading this letter at this afternoon's General Meeting of the Corporation.

Yours faithfully,

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

12. *To Akshoy K. De Esq.*
13, College Square

Corporation of Calcutta
Municipal office
24.9.24

My dear sir,

Your note was to hand duly. Re—83 Harrison Road

the best thing for Sachin Babu would be to apply to the Deputy Executive officer, Mr. J. C. Mukherjee, who is dealing with the markets. I shall also speak to him. I do not know at the present moment whether the house would be available on rent.

Regarding Babu Ramendra Krishna Bose, I do not know to which post you refer. The matter is in the hands of the Drainage Engineer, if it is for the post of River Surveyor and I shall have to confirm his recommendation in a technical matter of this kind. There was another post vacant (Temporary Supervisor, Drainage Dept : on Rs 200/-) which has since been filled up by the appointment of another gentleman on the recommendation of the Drainage Engineer.

With my pronams

I am

Yours affly

SUBHAS

13. *From Sarat Chandra Bose*

38/1 Elgin Road

24.XI.24.

10 p.m.

My dear Subhas,

As desired by you I have filed suits against *The Englishman* and *The Catholic Herald* in your name claiming Rs, 50,000/- damages from each for libel. The complaints were drawn by Mr. N. N. Sircar. Messrs Dutt and Sen are acting as your attorneys. I think I told you on Saturday last that we ought to engage Messrs Dutt and Sen as our attorneys.

Your verbal authority to institute suits in your name is in my opinion, sufficient. But for greater safety, I have instructed Messrs Dutt and Sen to draw up a power of attorney in my favour and have it executed by you in the Jail. Possibly they will ask for an appointment to interview you within the next three or four days.

The news of the institution of the suits will probably appear in the papers tomorrow.

The attorneys will give you information from time to time as to the proceedings in Court in the said suits.

I hope you are keeping well. All well here.

From my affly

Sarat

14. From Sarat Chandra Bose

Passed
Illegible
9/12

38/1 Elgin Road
5.XII.24
7 p.m.

My dear Subhas,

I expected you would be removed from Calcutta soon after the 2nd and that has been done. I am anxious to know how they have kept you there—I mean what sort of accommodation they have given you. I hope it is not worse than the accommodation they gave you here. Have you heard any more about your winter clothing? I was afraid you would suffer very much from want of it and I therefore sent you a coat, an overcoat and a rug—just the ordinary things to keep you going until you get your winter clothing from Government.

Have you heard any more about your allowance from Govt.? Surely they cannot send you away from Calcutta and pay no allowance.

As regards the matter we were discussing at the last interview I did not think it necessary to take Mr. Sircar's advice. I think you are right in the attitude you have taken.

The Englishman has entered appearance in the suit you have filed. The written statement is not due yet. I shall let you know the substance of it as soon as the w/s is

delivered. *The Catholic Herald* has not entered appearance yet.

I haven't yet been able to make up my mind as to whether you should file a suit against *The Statesman*. The big lawyers have been busy and I haven't had a chance of discussing it with them. If I get legal advice in your favour, I shall not hesitate to file a suit.

I spoke to Durga Khaitan about the suit against Birlas. He has agreed to go through the papers and then to meet me and discuss the chances of a settlement of that suit. I have also spoken to Dhiren Mitter, Attorney (partner of Mr. H. N. Dutt) and he has also promised to look into the matter and see what he can do. I shall send you in the course of the next few days the books you wanted.

Messrs. Dutt and Sen have written to Mr. Armstrong for a copy of the charges against you and also for a copy of the search warrant but haven't received any reply yet.

I think you can ask Govt. to supply you with a copy of the Municipal Gazette every week. There cannot be any justification for refusing you that.

I have written to the Secretary of the Corporation asking him to send the arrears of salary due to you to me. I haven't received it yet.

When you write home, do write in detail about your health, food, clothing etc.

Mother is here. She is all right. The rest are well.

Yours very affly

SARAT
(Sarat Chandra Bose).

15. To Sarat Chandra Bose

Berhampur Jail
Monday
8-12-24

My dear brother,

I arrived here—rather was brought down here—on Wednesday last. I am quite well here.

I am sorry I shall not be able to instruct my solicitors in connection with the libel suits against *The Englishman* and *The Catholic Herald*—nor be able to receive information regarding the progress of the case. The motive behind my transfer is clear to me as daylight.

Please tell Mr. Ramiah to remove from the Alipore Central Jail the secretariat table and chair which I had been using. I have not brought them with me as I originally intended. You may also ask him to send me books on Municipal Administration which the Corporation Library may happen to possess.

Regarding warm clothing there has been no further development and I adhere to my original position.

I do not think I shall be able to meet any of you for some time to come. I can write only 2 letters a week but can receive any number.

Where is mother now? Father is at Cuttack I believe. How are you all doing? I am anxious to know what lawyers have advised regarding the article in *The Statesman*.

I have not received the fourth issue of the Municipal Gazette. I would certainly like to have it regularly.

I am quite well here.

Yours V. affly
SUBHAS
(S. C. Bose)

To
S. C. Bose Esq.
Bar-at-Law.

16. From Sarat Chandra Bose

Passed
Illegible

15/12
S. P.
15/12/24

38/2 Elgin Road
12.12.24.
8 p.m.

My dear Subhas,

I received your letter of the 8th this morning. I wrote

to you C/o Supdt. Central Jail, Berhampur either on the 5th or the 6th. I hope you will get it, if you haven't got it already.

I shall give you all information regarding the progress of your suits against *The Englishman* and *The Catholic Herald* of India. *The Englishman* has entered appearance and I expect will file its written statement within a fortnight or so. Summons has not yet been served on *The Catholic Herald* but will be served in a day or two. If you have any special instructions to give to your solicitors regarding the two suits, you may write to me or direct to your solicitors at No. 6 Old Post Office Street, Calcutta.

Your solicitors wrote to Mr. Armstrong for a copy of the charges against you but the latter has written to say that no copy can be supplied. They have written again to Mr. Armstrong for it. I think the authorities are bound to supply a copy, as under Regulation III of 1818, the person detained has a right to make representations regarding the supposed grounds of his detention.

I am writing to Mr. Ramiah requesting him to send you some books on Municipal Administration and also to remove your furniture from the Alipore Jail.

We shall apply for permission to see you during the X'mas vacation.

Sircar left for Dhanbad suddenly. I couldn't take his advice regarding the article in *The Statesman*. But he will be coming back shortly and I shall take his advice and act according to it.

I spoke to Mr. J. C. Mukherji this afternoon about sending you the Municipal Gazette.

After I saw you on the 29th ultimo, I wrote to the Mayor that it was your desire that some one should be appointed to officiate as Chief Executive Officer in your absence and that the Corporation work should not suffer. We had a special meeting of the Corporation this afternoon. Mr. J. C. Mukherji has been appointed to officiate as Chief Executive Officer for three months commencing from the 15th December and you have been allowed leave *without pay* for that period. Mr. Satish Chandra Roy (University

Professor) has been appointed officiating Dy. Executive Officer in place of Mr. Mukherji and Mr. Raschid Khan has been appointed 2nd Deputy Executive Officer.

Mother is here. She is keeping fairly well. Father is at Cuttack and is all right. The rest of us are well.

I am trying to improve your garden at 38/1 Elgin Road. By the time you return you will find plenty of roses in the garden—at any rate, that's what I expect. I hope it won't be all thorns and no roses.

Baramamababu (Mr. J. N. Dutt) was enquiring of you. When he came in, I remembered his familiar quotation :

“কাল ব্রাহ্মন, কটা শূদ্র, বেটে মুসলমান
ঘরজামাই, পুষ্টিপত্র সব বেটাই সমান।”¹

I thought it might apply to the present situation and particularly with reference to you.

Please let me hear from you once a week. You will have bad food, insufficient warm clothing and other inconveniences but I hope in spite of that you will keep all right. May God bless you !

Yours very affly

SARAT

(Sarat Chandra Bose
Barrister at Law)

To
Subhas Chandra Bose Esq.
Berhampur Jail.

17. To Sarat Chandra Bose

Passed
Illegible
S. P.

19/12

Berhampur Jail
16-12-24

My dear brother,

I received your letter of 5.12.24 a few days ago and

¹ There is nothing to choose from amongst a *dark Brahmin*, a fair *Sudra*, a short Muslim, a son-in-law living with his in-laws and an adopted son.

your letter dated 12.12.24 was to hand yesterday.

(1) Received warm clothing. I have been informed by Government : that the prescribed schedule will not be revised. This is treatment according to rank and station in life !

(2) I left behind me at Alipore the following articles :—(1) Commode (2) Tiffin basket containing an aluminium pot (3) Typewriter with accessories. Please have these removed from the Jail as early as possible. I told the Jailor to inform you regarding the articles and I hope he has informed you by this time. I also left behind one secretariat table, revolving chair and map—to be sent to my office.

(3) I have sent another petition to Government : regarding my allowance and am awaiting a reply.

(4) I hope you will not forget to look into the matters affecting Birla Brothers Ltd. and Mr. H. N. Dutt, Solicitor, and see that something is done.

(5) I have not received any copies of the Municipal Gazette since my arrival here. I received the first three issues when I was at Alipore. Please ask Ramiah to send the Gazette direct to this place.

(6) Regarding the charges I am also writing to the Bengal Government for a copy. I don't know what objection Government can have to furnishing me with a copy of the charges that were read out to me.

(7) I am glad to learn that an officiating C. E. O. has been appointed in my absence.

The work of the Corporation should not on any account be allowed to suffer. Please consult the Mayor and let me know if it is necessary for me to apply for leave *in writing* to confirm what I had said verbally.

I would have been more glad to see Mr. D. C. Dutt Collector appointed to act as Deputy Executive Officer in place of Mr. J. C. Mukherji. He is undoubtedly one of the ablest officers of the Corporation.

I shall try to write to you once every week—but as you know I can write only 2 letters a week, though I can receive any number.

(8) I am glad you are trying to improve my garden. I had intended to have a badminton court in the centre. Apparently you have laid out the whole of the plot. It does not matter, because we can have a badminton court for the children at 38/2 if the back space is cleaned properly.

(9) I am sorry that your motion re: liquor shops is being continually postponed. I am anxious to hear about the fate of the motion. I hope to get it in *The Statesman*.

(10) I am anxious to know what has become of Mr. L. M. Sen's motion regarding the Improvement Trust. Is it still hanging fire?

(11) Please tell Santosh Babu that I received his long letter when I was at Alipore. I shall write to him shortly. What has become of the Loans Statement as drawn up by me? Has it been modified or altered by the E. G. P. or the Corporation? I hope the Monshatala Scheme is safe.

(12) If you meet Mr. Stuart Smith please tell him that I am fond of reading his notes in *The Statesman*. I have lost all touch with the Corporation since I left Alipore and it is a treat to study his penpictures of "the Corporation from within". He has become somewhat irregular of late but I hope he will write more frequently in future.

(13) Government have sanctioned a magnificent sum of Rs. 30/- per month for the whole lot of prisoners here for books etc! I do not know what intellectual food so many hungry souls can purchase with only Rs. 30/- per month especially when tastes are bound to differ. Dilip or Kshitish can easily collect some books from the different authors and send them for the use of the political prisoners here. To make matters worse, there is no library attached to this Jail. Authors like Sarat Chatterji, Jaladhar Sen and others may be persuaded to present some of their books if they are approached.

(14) Government have sanctioned Rs. 6-10 per diem for my food. I find this quite inadequate. When I was at Alipore I used to spend much more—I am going to petition Government for an increase in my allowance.

(15) Where is *Nadada* now and has he been fixed up? Has *Sejdada* been to Calcutta since my arrest?

I am glad to know that *Baramamababu* (Mr. J. N. Dutt) has been enquiring of me and that he was repeating his familiar quotation. But I do not yet agree with your interpretation of that familiar maxim. How is he doing now and how is *Mamima*?

I am quite well here. "Stone-walls do not a prison make, nor iron-bars a cage"—the poet's words are true indeed.

I would like to have some contemporary English and Continental (translations of course) literature.

Hope this will find you all quite well.

Yours v. affly
SUBHAS

P. S.

Please ask Young & Co. to make a pair of tennis shoes and a pair of Khaddar slippers (like the ones I used to wear) for me as soon as possible. Gopali will be able to do this for me. Young & Co. will only have to be told not to make them tight—which they are in the habit of doing. The ones they made for me some time ago are too tight and cannot be worn with woollen socks.

S. C. B.

18. *Ta Sarat Chandra Bose*

Censored and Passed

Illegible

H. Police

25/12

Berhampur Jail

24.12.24

My dear brother,

I have received a letter from father in which he says that you will be going down to Puri. I do not therefore know whether you will be able to come over here during X'mas.

I can surmise the reasons which persuaded the Corporation to make the arrangements regarding the offices of

C. E. O. and Deputy Executive Officer. I hope the work will now go in full swing.

I wanted to write to Bijoykaka to enquire if it would be possible to stand for the 24 Parganas District Board at the ensuing election. I do not know what the franchise is and whether I would be eligible to stand while I am in jail. As the number of letters I can write is restricted to two per week, I have not been able to write to him as yet. Please get the information from him and communicate it to me in due course.

Where is Khuro living now? I hope he is quite well.

In my last letter I wrote to you regarding books for state prisoners. I am sure that if efforts are made a large number of books can be collected from authors and others. You may ask Kshitish or Dilip to move in this connection. Since we have to stay here for an indefinite period, more intellectual food is necessary.

I am quite well here. I shall keep all right if only I can avoid malaria. I am taking quinine mixture off and on.

My representations to the Government of Bengal regarding clothing, allowance etc. have been futile. Do you think it will be of any use to make a representation to the Viceroy? I am sick of making these representations but at the same time it should not be said later on that my complaints were not brought to the notice of the Viceroy, who is ultimately responsible for the promulgation of Ordinances and Regulations.

When you come here please bring some money with you—say fifty or hundred. The Superintendent is trying to arrange with the College Library so that we may be able to draw books when we want. Payment of deposit money will be necessary in this connection.

Hope this will find you all quite well.

Yours V. affly
SUBHAS
(S. C. Bose)

S. C. Bose Esq.
Bar-at-Law.

19. To Sarat Chandra Bose

Passed
A. Banerji
for S. Police
5.1.25

Berhampur Jail
3-1-25

My dear brother,

I hope you are back in Calcutta now.

Namama came to see me yesterday. You will hear from him everything in due course.

I am afraid you will have to do without a copy of the charges preferred against me. I have been informed by Government that no copy can be given. So this confirms the reply which my solicitors have received from Mr. Armstrong.

I believe you have dispensed with the services of Prithwis. I am sorry for him. In view of the pecuniary condition of his family and the way they have suffered, I wish you could see your way to reinstate him. Where is Romesh?

I am pretty well here. Hope this finds you all quite well.

Yours v. affly
SUBHAS
(S. C. Bose)

S. C. Bose Esq.
Bar-at-Law.

P.S.

You may send me some achar (আচার) and ভাজামসলা later on.

S. C. B.

20. From Sarat Chandra Bose

Passed
Illegible
S. Police
15/1/25

38/2 Elgin Road
11.1.25.
11 p.m.

My dear Subhas,

I have been thinking of writing to you since my return from Puri but haven't been able to do so earlier.

I received your letter of the 16 December before I left for Puri and your letter of the 24th December at Puri. Your letter of the 3rd instant came the day before yesterday.

(1) *Regarding warm clothing and allowance :*

I think you should send a representation to the Governor-General ; otherwise it might be said later on that the proper authority was not approached. There is no reason why they should not pay your house rent of Rs. 450/-.

(2) *Articles at the Alipore Jail :*

They have sent back a commode, type-writer etc. But the commode they have sent back is not the one which was sent from here. I thought of writing to them but eventually dropped the matter. Ramiah has brought back the secretariat table etc.

(3) There is no chance of an amicable settlement of the case with Birla Bros. They are taking full advantage of the situation. Babu Prabhudayal Himatsingka (Solicitor and Municipal Councillor) whom I asked to negotiate a settlement told me that Birla's idea was Rs. 10,000/-. Mr. H. N. Dutt has not yet said anything. I have reminded Dhiren Mitter again.

(4) Have you been receiving the Municipal Gazette regularly ? I asked Ramiah to see that it is sent regularly.

(5) There is absolutely no justification for denying

you a copy of the charges against you. But it is no use writing again.

(6) Mr. D. C. Dutt (Collector, Corporation) is retiring in April next. At the last meeting of the Finance, Estates and General Purposes Committee, we decided to advertise for a Collector.

(7) The rosegrafts I planted in your garden are thriving well. We shall try to have a badminton court later.

(8) My motion re: liquor shops may be reached this month—but I don't know. I hope to be able to carry the motion.

(9) I asked Santosh Babu before I left for Puri to write to you about the Loans Statement and the Monshatala Scheme. I understand he has written to you.

(10) I gave your message to Stuart Smith. He appreciated it very much and wrote me in reply that he will continue writing articles about the Corporation so long as *The Statesman* publishes them.

(11) I wrote to Dilip about getting some books for you all. Has he written to you ?

(12) Nalu has not been fixed up anywhere. Suresh has gone to Cuttack but will be back tomorrow. I believe you know that he has chucked up his job.

(13) *Baramamababu* (Mr. J.N. Dutt) is all right and flourishing. He is interesting himself in the schemes of the Corporation regarding Health Associations for each ward and trying to do something for his ward. I think there is a lot of truth in his familiar quotation. I was quite as sceptical as you are but I am daily realising the truth of *Baramamababu's* quotation.

(14) Have the Book Company sent you a copy of Tennyson's Works and a Dictionary ?

(15) Government has sanctioned the appointments of Mr. S. C. Roy and Raschid Khan as Deputy Executive Officers of the Corporation. Both of them have joined.

(16) Bijoykaka (B. K. Bose) came here the day before yesterday. He said that the elections to the District Board are not coming on just yet. He said further that the best thing would be to get returned by the Local Boards. You

are eligible for election as we pay road cess for Kodalia lands. I shall let you know in good time what to do in the matter.

(17) I shall send you Rs. 100/- within a week or so for depositing in the College Library there for books.

(18) The *baksheesh* you used to pay your chaprasis and chauffeur is being continued.

(19) The Solicitor to the Corporation has applied for leave preparatory to retirement. The matter will come up before the next meeting of the Estates and General Purposes Committee.

(20) As Mr. J. C. Mukherji has been appointed to officiate in your place, I think the power of appointment vests in him.

(21) You will get your shoes, slippers and clothing within a short time, as also আচার and ভাজামসলা

(22) *Law suits*

The Englishman will file its written statement on Tuesday next. Copy of the same will be sent to you by your solicitors.

Summons hasn't yet been served on *The Catholic Herald* as we couldn't get any one to identify Father Gille, the Editor. I have now got an identifier and the summons will be served in a short time.

Your plaint against *The Statesman* is almost ready. It will be filed in the course of next week.

Mother is coming here tomorrow with Suresh. Father is at Cuttack. All well there. Hope this will find you quite fit.

Yours very affly

SARAT
(Sarat Chandra Bose).

P.S.

Prithwis's services were dispensed with at the instance of C. R. Das. I was not, however, satisfied that the charges brought against him of helping the contractor Ugra Singh had been proved. I am trying to put him into the Corporation.

Should I draw your pay from the Corporation from the 1st to the 15th December? You were granted leave from the 15th December. But the resolution of the Corporation was that you were granted leave without pay from the 15th December for 3 months, as *you were unwilling to draw* any salary for the period you could not work. Nothing however was expressly said regarding your pay from the 3rd to 15th. Let me know what I should do. Money is wanted for meeting house-rent etc.; but on the other hand, we should be careful that no comment is made subsequently that you have drawn pay for the period you didn't work.

S. C. B.

21. To Sarat Chandra Bose

24.1.25

My dear brother,

I received your letter of the 11th inst. duly. I have not been able to write to you for the last two weeks.

It appears from your letter that legal opinion has already been obtained regarding the article in *The Statesman* and it is in accordance with that opinion that the plaint is being drawn up. I should however think twice before filing it and would like to be as sure of a favourable verdict as in the case of *The Englishman*. If we are unsuccessful in one case it will react unfavourably on the next case. I have not at present got *The Statesman* article before me but I have no doubt that you will weigh the situation carefully and adopt the most expedient course.

I have not yet received any reply to my second petition to Government regarding family allowance. The reply to my first petition was, as you know, in the negative—but the second petition is at present under consideration. You need not draw my salary for the few days in December till I hear something in reply. How is Kh... and where is he living now? Regarding Prithwis, I hope you will enquire how far he was to blame. If he is not seriously to blame, you may consider whether he would be reinstated after a

warning. He has on the whole been hardworking and conscientious and his first offence may therefore be dealt with leniently. It will be difficult, if not impossible, to find a suitable job elsewhere on the same pay.

I am getting *The Bengalee* regularly here. The X'mas number containing 32 pages was a very good production. It contained descriptions of several indigenous industries together with profuse illustrations. The Sunday issue also contains from time to time quite good articles on art, literature, economics and industry. You may have a glance at the X'mas number and at the Sunday issues occasionally.

Re:articles at the Alipore Jail I hope you have also received a small tiffin basket I left behind there to be sent home.

I am getting the Municipal Gazette regularly but they are not sending the Corporation minutes—I don't know why.

Re:the case with Birlas Mr. Das may be able to help. It is surprising that Mr. H. N. Dutt, Solicitor, is so averse to an amicable compromise.

I have heard from Santosh Babu and have replied to him as well.

I am anxious about your resolution re:liquor shops. I hope you will not drop it. I have no doubt that you will be able to carry it.

I have seen the report of the Corporation Committee regarding the Howrah Bridge Bill and I heartily approve of it. I hope the Corporation will in unqualified terms disapprove of the Grand Trunk Canal Scheme also. The Grand Trunk Canal Scheme has originated from the same source as the spill Reservoir Scheme and both schemes are in my opinion equally expensive and useless. Please ask Santosh Babu to interest himself in the scheme and do the needful in this connection. The Chairman of the Vidyadhari Special Committee will be of great help to him while discussing the Grand Trunk Canal scheme. The Corporation is particularly interested in the Grand Trunk Canal scheme as the Canal will pass through Cossipore and will adversely affect the drainage of that area.

I have received Tennyson's works and the Dictionary from the Book Company. I have received all the parcels in good condition viz. আচার, ভাজামসলা, shoes from Joney & Co., clothes from Kamalalaya and another parcel of clothes from home.

I am glad that the *baksheesh* to my chaprasis and orderlies is being continued.

Re: the election to the Dt. Board 24 Parganas, I am anxious to have my name entered in the electoral roll and to know whether there will be any difficulty in standing for election while I am here. As for the rest, I can wait till the election. Is the road cess being paid in father's name or for the joint family. I don't suppose there will be any difficulty in entering my name in the latter case—as a representative of the joint family. But there may be some difficulty in the former case.

I have received the original plaint together with the written statement and your forwarding letter. I hope summons has been served on the Editor of *The Catholic Herald* by this time. When do you expect *The Englishman* suit to come up before the High Court?

I am pretty well here. Hope this will find you all quite well.

Yours v. affly,
SUBHAS

22. From Tulsi Chandra Goswami

Passed
Illegible
S.P.
23/12

1 Rainey Park
Ballygunge
Calcutta, 19 Dec. 24.
4 p.m.

Dear Subhas Babu,

Your letter, dated 15th, has just arrived. I am applying

for a permit to the Chief Secretary, Bengal, to interview you.

I thought of seeing you before this : but as I was told that the number of interviews was limited, I felt my seeing you would deprive your relations of the visit.

I am leaving for the Congress on Sunday ; it is impossible to obtain the required permit to see you before that. So I suppose I must postpone seeing you till I return from Belgaum.

It is useless to ask you how you are. I know, it is your great moral courage which sustains you and keeps you cheerful in unmerited adversity. Need I affirm here the high esteem in which you are held throughout the country as one of the noblest of a noble band of sufferers.

Yours sincerely
T. C. GOSWAMI

23. To Sarat Chandra Bose

British India Steam
Navigation Co. Ltd.
S. S. ARONDA
29.1.25
Thursday

My dear brother,

I am writing this on my way to Mandalay Jail. We expect to reach Rangoon tomorrow morning and take the train to Mandalay the same evening, reaching there on Saturday at about noon. Mandalay is about 19 hours' journey from Rangoon—I understand.

I was served with an order of the Bengal Govt. on Monday (the 26th) afternoon at Berhampur that I was to be transferred to Mandalay Jail. I was brought down to Calcutta the same night (i.e. Monday) and spent the night at the Lalbazar lock-up. We embarked on Tuesday, early in the morning and are now nearing Rangoon.

I am well. I shall write to you again on my arrival at Mandalay Jail. I am writing to father at Cuttack along with

this letter. I believe mother is in Calcutta now. Hope they will find you all quite well.

Yours very affly,
SUBHAS
(S. C. Bose)

24. From Sarat Chandra Bose

Passed
Illegible
S. Police
27/1

38/2 Elgin Road
24.1.25
9 p.m.

My dear Subhas,

I wonder if you have received my letters. I wrote you two letters—the first one a few days after my return from Puri and the second in a Regtd. cover. In the Regtd. cover, I also sent you copies of the plaint and written statement in your suit against *The Englishman*.

I am not anxious on account of your silence. I am only anxious to know if the letters reached you all right.

Father will be coming here during the Saraswati Puja holidays which begin on the 25th instant. Mother is here and is keeping pretty well.

There is nothing much to write to you about, except that your suit against *The Statesman* will be filed on Monday next. Sir Binod Mitter has settled the plaint.

Hope this will find you all right.

Yours very affly
SARAT CHANDRA BOSE

25. To Sarat Chandra Bose

Mandalay Jail.
12.2.25

My dear brother,

Your letter of 24.1.25 was to hand only yesterday.

I have lost all touch with the Corporation since my arrival here. I have not received either copies of the Corporation minutes or of the Municipal Gazette.... I shall be glad if you press your motion re: liquor shops. It is a necessity and will be appreciated by the public at large....

A man of the name of Entaz Ali applied for the post of Engine Driver—either at the Corporation pumping station or in one of the Corporation watering boards. He handed over his testimonials along with his application in a bamboo-shaped tin case. They are in my office either on my table or on a what-not to the left of my chair. The tin case is so funny that it cannot be mistaken. The man has written to me asking for the testimonials and return it to him as soon as possible. Without the testimonials he is not able to apply for a job anywhere. . . .

The Budget estimates have appeared in the local papers and I find that there is a deficit. I am exceedingly surprised at this. The expenditure can easily be cut down by postponing new works of improvement—so that income may balance expenditure. I hope the Corporation will apply the “axe” properly before it is finally accepted.

I think some of you should go and occupy 38/1—otherwise the place will not be kept neat and clean.

* * * *

I want to have a copy of the Local Self Government Act which deals with the constitution of District Boards.

I agree with Bijoykaka that it is more convenient to get returned by the Local Boards....

I may also say in this connection that if there is a general election to the Legislative Council while I am in Jail—I should like to stand from a Calcutta constituency—either North or South... Apart from practical difficulties, I do not think there is any legal bar to my standing for election to the District Board or to the Council while I am in Jail.

* * * *

Who are the members of the Committee appointed by the Corporation to enquire into the condition of the roads in the city? I am preparing a note for the Committee

embodying my observations and I hope to send it by the next mail.

* * * deleted by censor * *

Regarding my health, for the first time since my confinement I have been feeling unwell. Since the day of my arrival I have been feeling seedy and out of sorts and have been suffering from indigestion without a break. This is the case with most of us here. It does not appear that the climate of this place will ever agree with me. I do not intend to write to the Bengal Government for a transfer—because I know that it is useless. Mandalay jail is supposed to be one of the healthiest jails in Burma and Mandalay is a place which, I understand, has a heavy mortality in plague and small-pox and particularly in plague. Last year there were as many as thirty thousand deaths from plague—if my information is correct.

I have just heard from Government that no family allowances will be granted to me. I suppose this means that I get no allowance for the upkeep of my establishment. You know what the expenses of my establishment were—quite apart from the monthly donations etc.

* * * *

Please do not tell father or mother that I am not well.

Yours very affly

SUBHAS

(S. C. Bose).

26. *From Sudhir Kumar Rudra*

12, Muir Road

Allahabad,

25th January, 1925.

My dear Subhas,

You just cannot imagine what unique joy it gave me to receive your letter of the 4th instant, which was sent on by the Jail authorities on the 11th.

Subhas, how am I to thank you for your remembrance of me, while you are yourself locked up in Jail, confined

and probably suffering, if not physical hardships then undoubtedly mental agonies and to have thought of remembering me in my joy! Well, this is a noble act of yours, and I shall never forget it. But it is just like you, as I knew you at dear old Cambridge; how absolutely sincere and selfless and upright you were! And you have only grown fuller and richer and greater in these great qualities of yours. Hence the surprise of the country, and none less of your old friends who admire and love you all the more among which number I also am one—though different to you in Politics yet not least in my warmth and esteem of you.

I hope when next you come to Allahabad my wife and I shall have the pleasures and the privilege of having you as our guest. I am sorry to inform you that she has had to go to Lucknow for the treatment of her ear and will be away from me for some weeks. However, what is this to endure compared to the great sacrifices which men of your type have gone through and are going through?

I met Duleep Roy at Lucknow. He was there for the Music Conference. He looked very fit and well and happy. We naturally spoke of you too as we invariably do whenever we run across each other.

Father Banerjee is here, a veritable father now! He has had another addition to his family, a daughter which makes it two children. Old Jung has joined the University, and is no longer swaggering the country in Khaddar and Gandhi-cap. You know I verily do believe that it became the thing to swank to put on Khaddar and Gandhi-cap sometime back! Some of the biggest snobs I know donned these things to be in the swim and in the limelight and probably they had no more patriotism in them than fellows like myself are supposed to have! It was pathetic.

Well! I must close. With my deepest gratitude and assurance of my warm friendship and regard. My wife would join me in my sentiments were she here. I pray for your health and speedy release.

Ever yours most sincerely
SUDHIR K. RUDRA

27. *From Sarat Chandra Bose*

38/1, Elgin Road,
24.2.25
11 p.m.

My dear Subhas,

I got your letter dated 29.1.25 written on board S. S. Aronda but I did not write to you all these days as I was expecting a letter from you from Mandalay.

In your letter dated 31.1.25 to mother you said you would write to me in the following week. Your silence has made us rather anxious. I do hope, however, that you are keeping well.

Please let me know in detail what arrangements have been made for you there. What sort of accommodation have they provided you with? What about your food?

Has the fact that you are now detained under the Ordinance made any difference so far as your accommodation and food are concerned?

Are you being supplied with any books or papers there? Has any arrangement been made for physical exercise? We have recently had additions to our family. Sunil has got a daughter as also Suresh.

Suresh has gone to Cuttack. He has begun erecting buildings at the Shikarpur garden.

Sudhir is still without employment.

Have you heard anything more from Government regarding your house rent?

Please let me know if you want any more clothing.

I trust this will find you all right. This leaves us well. Father is at Cuttack. Mother is here.

Yours very affly

SARAT

Subhas C. Bose Esq.

(Sarat Chandra Bose)

P.S.

I am enclosing Ramiah's letter. Please do the needful.
S. C. B.

28. *From Sarat Chandra Bose*

38/1 Elgin Road
Saturday, 28.2.25
7 p.m.

My dear Subhas,

Your letter of the 12th instant reached my hands on Thursday last the 26th. I wrote to Mr. Armstrong on receipt of that letter enquiring of the reason for the delay in the transmission of the letter. He has written to me to say that "no unnecessary delay took place in his office" in posting the letter to me. Apparently the Mandalay authorities did not forward the letter promptly.

I have just now received your letter of the 20th instant. You have not said anything particularly about your health.

In your letter of the 12th instant you said that you were not keeping well since the day you arrived at Mandalay. I therefore sent a telegram to the Superintendent of the Mandalay Jail enquiring as to how you were keeping and I got a reply last night saying you were keeping well. I won't feel reassured until I hear from you that you are all right.

The Intelligence Branch C.I.D. have refused permission to send you copies of the minutes of the proceedings of the Corporation. They have, however, raised no objection to the Municipal Gazette being forwarded to you and you will now get the same regularly. Some copies of the Municipal Gazette are lying with me for being forwarded to you and they will go by the next mail.

Your letter of the 12th instant was censored at one place. About 10 lines were smudged over.

We are occupying 38/1 and shall do so till your return; otherwise, the house and grounds will become unfit for human habitation. I don't know what the landlord will do. He is, of course, entitled to charge you rent for the period you agreed to take the premises. I thought there would be no difficulty in the matter of payment of rent as the least Government could do was to pay the rent of your house. I find now that I am mistaken.

You need not write to Government again. I shall see what I can do here.

Re : Corporation—What is the date of the last issue of the Municipal Gazette that you have received?

I shall of course, press my motion re: liquor shops. There might be a chance of its being reached next week.

Nothing has been settled about a Solicitor yet. But the general opinion seems to be that a Vakil should be the senior man and a Solicitor his Assistant. I am against it; but Vakil Councillors are in the majority and will probably carry it.

I am writing to Ramiah asking him to return the testimonials of Entaz Ali Mistry.

Yes, it is a deficit budget. The Budget Sub-committee are at it and I trust they will be able to cut down the expenditure. I am not in the sub-committee as I can't make time for taking up a heavy work like that.

Bills—Kamalalaya's and Young and Co's bills against you have been paid. Graduate Brothers and Friends have to receive something from you. I shall arrange to pay them at an early date.

District Board—I shall procure a copy of the Local Self Government Act and send it on to you.

Prithwis—I hope to be able to put Prithwis into the Corporation after the Mayor returns to town.

District Engineer S. C. Mitra—I am more responsible than anybody else for the increment given to Mr. Mitra. He stuck to me and Santosh Babu and it was more out of a feeling of delicacy than anything else that we supported his case for increment. He was most importunate in his requests and pressed upon us to consider the fact that he would attain the age of 55 in Oct. next.

Your expenses—Your expenses will have to be met somehow now and at the end of your period of confinement a heavy bill will have to be submitted to Government. When you are out, you can press the matter and even go up to the Secretary of State.

Charges—I am not at all surprised that the authorities did not even allow you to make notes of the charges made

against you. I believe a copy of charges against you had to be read out to you as you are an Ordinance prisoner now. Has the change from Reg. III to Ordinance made any difference in the treatment meted out to you?

Please let me know if you are allowed to take exercise and to associate with people. Have you been supplied with any books?

I shall write to father informing him that letters addressed to you should be sent to 13 Elysium Row.

Your High Court Suits—*The Catholic Herald* has filed its written statement expressing regret. *The Statesman* has time yet to file its written statement.

This leaves us well. Hope this will find you better.

Yours very affly

SARAT
(Sarat Chandra Bose)

29. To Sarat Chandra Bose

Received

4.4.25

Mandalay Jail

14.3.25

My dear brother,

Writing letters has become a problem to me now and something like a nightmare too. The nightmare is caused by the Sword of Damocles hanging over my head in the shape of the Police Censor—whose autocracy easily beats that of the late Tsar. I am not sure that this letter too will pass unscathed—but write I must.

I have brought myself to write this letter with great difficulty—having had to overcome not only the nightmare but also the extreme lethargy induced by a disease which I can best describe as dyspepsia-cum-'flu. But this is the last day of the week and I am not anxious to lose what little opportunity I possess in the matter of writing letters.

I am getting the copies of the Municipal Gazette now but it passes my comprehension why the minutes of the

Corporation should be withheld. Mysterious is the logic of the Police mind. I find from the Rangoon papers that I have been given an extension of 3 months' leave.

I hope Ramiah has returned the testimonials of Entaz Ali, the applicant for the post of Engine-Driver.

Please do not forget to preserve all vouchers, receipts etc. which refer to me as I intend to fight the matter out after my release—which must take place some day—for the darkest hour has its end. I believe I am entitled to an allowance and have a very strong case to put up.

You want to know whether the change from Regulation III to Ordinance has made any difference in the treatment meted out to me. I cannot answer this question. I can almost feel the nightmare creeping along my limbs and paralysing my fingers for I cannot for the same reason answer any questions regarding physical exercise, association etc. I do not know whether the Police Censor will allow me to say that we are short of books and are suffering from intellectual starvation. I have not so far received a single book at Government expense. Treatment according to rank indeed!

Please ask Ramiah to send me a copy of the leave, pension and Provident Fund rules of the Corporation. In connection with the Bidyadhari problem, I purchased two or three books for the Corporation office which I meant to study. Ramiah knows about them. I want to have these books. If they can be spared you may instruct Thacker Spink to send them to me. There is also a book on the River System in Bengal by Adams Williams (Ramiah also knows the book) which I want to study. There may be a spare copy in the Corporation library. The books are to be sent to the C.I.D. office in Elysium Row in my name and not direct.

I have decided to apply to the Bengal Government for a transfer back to Bengal as this place will not suit me.

Dyspepsia has been my best friend since the day of my arrival here and cold and fever have put in their appearance. The latter may be best described as a local 'flu—with the only difference that it does not give a high

temperature. But the local 'flu is as troublesome as 'flu generally is.

Babu Jitendriya Bose once described his favourite Cossipore as "a kingdom of dust". I am sure he has not seen the real kingdom of dust—for that is Mandalay. A poet once said that death has no seasons in its year—I am sure that dust in Mandalay has no seasons in its year, for there is no rainy season in this corner of the world. In Mandalay the dust is in the air—therefore you must inhale it. It is in your food, therefore you must eat it. It is on your table—your chair and your bed—therefore you must feel its soft touch. It raises storms, obscuring distant trees and hills—therefore you needs must see it in all its beauty. Verily, dust in Mandalay is all-pervading—it is everywhere. It may therefore be regarded, in a sense, as a second Providence. May the Divine Father save us from this new Providence!

Some philosophers regard this planet of ours as created for the enjoyment of man. I have no doubt that of all the countries in the world Burma is the one place where these philosophers will have the largest following. If the world—and particularly the animate world—is made for man, nothing can be uneatable and you will be surprised to learn that in the Burmese code, inedible flesh does not exist. Crows, cats, dogs and even snakes are welcome in the kitchen and they can all get secure corners in the stomachs of men. Partiality hardly exists in the matter of food in these parts and not even insects can complain that they are neglected.

The climate of the place seems to me to be enervating and stiffness of the joints is a common ailment. The Burmese who have developed a civilization wonderful in many respects—have also developed a system of massage which is a very good cure for that disease.

I am afraid I am becoming too lengthy and I must stop now. Hope this will find you all in the best of health.

Yours v. affly

SUBHAS
(S. C. Bose)

P.S.

I am not going to write to father that I am not keeping well here. I do not want to make him feel anxious and you need not write to him about my health.

S. C. B.
14/3/25

30. *From Sarat Chandra Bose*

38/1 Elgin Road
28th March 1925
8 a.m.

My dear Subhas,

Your letter dated 14.3.25 to hand just now.

The Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bengal has recently written to the acting Chief Executive Officer to say "that Government are pleased to permit copies of the printed proceedings and agenda of the Corporation and of their more important committees to be sent to Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose". You will therefore get those copies from now until such permission continues.

I have written to the D.I.G. of Police asking for permission to see you at Mandalay during Easter. I am coming if I get the permission.

I shall write to you more in detail in my next letter.

Has your stomach improved at all? Have they brought Bengal rice for you?

Hope you are better. This leaves us well.

Yours very affly

SARAT
(Sarat Chandra Bose)

31. *From Sarat Chandra Bose*

38/1 Elgin Road
13.3.25.
9 p.m.

My dear Subhas,

I received your letter of the 27th ultimo yesterday,

I have received three letters in all from you from Mandalay. The other two were dated 12.2.25 and 20.2.25.

I hope you have received two letters from me by now. The first one I wrote shortly after the 26th ultimo, on which date I received your letter of the 12th ultimo.

Father came here on Sunday last. He left for Cuttack on Wednesday last. He is quite all right. Mother is here and will stay on for another month.

Your *Bowdidi* has been in bed practically for the last three weeks. It was nothing serious and she is getting better everyday. Her old troubles came on in an aggravated form—headache, palpitation, fever etc.

You haven't told us whether you are having the ordinary comforts of life at Mandalay. Possibly your letter of 5.2.25 contained some details; but I find from your letter under reply that it was withheld. I wonder why they withheld your letter to father dt. 31.1.25. I have never been able to understand what the authorities gain by these little pinpricks. But we have to submit to them.

This leaves us well. Hope this will find you in good health. I am anxious to know if you have any company there or are absolutely segregated.

Yours affly,
SARAT
(Sarat Chandra Bose)

Subhas Chandra Bose Esq.

Your law suits—The Catholic Herald people are willing to express and publish an unqualified apology in any form we demand and want us to let them off if they make an apology. I told them that they set the ball rolling and that other papers took it up and I could not agree to let them off unless I had your express consent.

My opinion is that they must pay damages.

S. C. Bose

32. To Sarat Chandra Bose

Mandalay Jail,
28.3.25

My dear brother,

I hope you have been receiving my letters regularly.

.....

There is another experience which is quite novel to me. I have been to the Zoo to see its inmates but I never knew that I would have to be an inmate myself. This may make you scratch your head but it is true that we are now like inmates of the Zoo. The wards in this jail are made of wooden bars or palisades and are not brick-built. I am sure that when we are locked in at night, to an outsider we look like so many human beasts prowling about in a lighted cage. It gives one an uncanny feeling—at the same time no one who possesses any sense of humour can fail to enjoy the experience. God only knows where our metamorphosis is going to end. I hope, however, that association of ideas won't bring back to us the tails and claws which we expect human beings have dropped once for all.

.....

I am so so.

Yours v. affly
SUBHAS

33. From Sarat Chandra Bose

38/1 Elgin Road
Calcutta, 4.4.25

My dear Subhas,

Your letter of the 21st ultimo was delivered to me this morning.

I wrote to Mr. Gladding, the Deputy Secretary Government of Bengal (Political Branch), making enquiries about you. He made an appointment with me this morning and showed me the reply that he had received from Burma to my enquiries. The reply was that you were keeping well, were being well fed and well housed and that there has been

no complaint from you. I pointed out to him that the report which was referred to in the letter from Burma was dated 1st March last and today was the 4th April. He admitted that was so but told me that as I was going to Mandalay I would be able to see things for myself. I told him that I would leave the matter there till my return. At the same time I pointed out to him that your letter stated quite clearly that you were suffering from dyspepsia and 'flu.

I am leaving for Burma by next Friday's boat and expect to be at Mandalay on the 14th.

Suresh is going in for matches now. Shikarpur garden was selected for the factory as the plot was more suitable and there were fewer trees in the garden.

Your *Bowdidi* is improving though it will take her about 2 weeks more to come round. She doesn't want to go to the hills during Summer. Calcutta has turned quite hot.

Father is at Puri and keeping well. Mother is still here but will be going down to Puri soon. Both are well.

Sunil is leaving for England on the 9th May next. I think he is committing a mistake in leaving Calcutta when he is getting into practice but he is very keen on going. He says he wants further training as a heart specialist.

I shall bring some old *Dadkhani* rice and *Sandesh* with me.

Hope this will find you better. This leaves us well.

Yours very affly

Sarat

(Sarat Chandra

Bose)

34. *From Sarat Chandra Bose*

38/1 Elgin Road

22.4.25

Wednesday.

My dear Subhas,

I arrived here safe yesterday afternoon, after a pleasant voyage. This time it was plain sailing—the sea was as calm as a lake.

Has your application for transfer to Bengal been forwarded to Calcutta?

I shall write to Mr. Gladding as early as possible regarding the different matters we discussed at Mandalay. I don't know if he is here or has gone to Darjeeling.

On my return yesterday, I got your letter of the 3rd instant. The envelope bore the Elgin Road post mark of the 15th instant. I find in your letter that you asked for Darjeeling tea. Unfortunately it did not strike either your *Bowdidi* or me.

Are you any better on *Dadkhani* rice? I don't know if your cook will be able to cook it properly. It has to be washed more than once and then boiled three or four times more than the ordinary table rice. If you give your cook the necessary directions, I believe he will be able to carry them out.

The Mayor has not come back to town yet. He is expected in 3 or 4 days. I shall discuss the condition of the Roads and the Bidyadhari River with him and the other municipal problems you referred to.

This leaves us well. Hope you are not otherwise. More in my next.

Yours very affly

SARAT

(Sarat Chandra Bose)

P.S.

If you want any stores or provisions you can write to our friend Ismail Attas (son of the late Haji Attas of

Cuttack). He will gladly send you what you might want. His address is given below.

Ismail H. M. Attas Esq.
C/o Abdul Rahim Oosman & Co.
45, Private Lane,
Mogul Street,
Rangoon.

35. *To Sarat Chandra Bose*

Mandalay Central Jail
16.5.25

My dear brother,

Your letter of 7.5.25 was to hand on the 12th inst.

Before I got your letter I saw *Chotodada's* name in the list of passengers sailing by one of the P. & O. boats. I did not know that he would be sailing so soon. I am glad that he was able to get the Sir Rash Bihari Ghosh Fellowship. How long will he be there? Will he spend his time in England or will he work in the Continental Laboratories? Can he send us information and literature as to how they deal with the problems of Public Health in the West? Our District Health Officers know too little of the Methods adopted in Western Municipalities. Dr. Biswas is the only D.H.O. who has been abroad but he is altogether muddle-headed. I feel that it will be necessary in the near future to send some of our Sanitary Officers abroad for training. I have been reading something about the methods adopted in American cities for combating malaria—and I have been charmed.

I have received Shastree's article on the Howrah Bridge. I have not studied it yet but I have read a summary in the Calcutta papers. I have not received any more books from Ramiah.

Mandalay was quite a furnace when I got your letter. Since then we have had a shower. It is again as hot as ever.

Calcutta rice has not done me much good so far but I mean to continue it. I believe it is the climate more than

anything else that is responsible for my ailments.

I have not yet heard from the Bengal Government regarding my transfer.

Hope this will find you all quite well. I am so so.

Yours v. affly
SUBHAS
(S. C. Bose)

P.S.

How have Sailesh and Santosh done in their exams? How is *Mejobowdidi*? S. C. B.

36. *To Dilip Kumar Roy*

Mandalay Central Jail,
2.5.1925.

My dear Dilip,

I was delighted to receive your letter dated, 24.3.25. It didn't have to reach me this time through a process of "double distillation"—to use your locution, which makes me feel happier still.

Your letter has touched such a tender chord in my heart that it is not easy for me to give an adequate reply by way of reciprocation. Besides, all I write has to pass through the Censor's hands, which, too, acts as a damper. For none cares to see the deepest articulation of his heart published in the light of day open to the scrutiny of all and sundry. So, much of what I have been thinking and feeling today behind the stone-walls and prison-bars must remain unspoken for ever.

It is quite natural for a man of your susceptibilities to feel outraged that so many should be detained in jail on an unknown charge. But since accept it we must as a fact, we might as well look into the matter from a spiritual standpoint.

I cannot say that I would like to stay in a jail, for that would be unadulterated humbug. . . The whole atmosphere inside a jail tends, if anything, to pervert and dehumanise a human being; and I believe this must be true of all jails,

more or less. I think the majority of convicts undergo a moral deterioration while in prison. After having been the guest of so many jails I must confess my eyes have been opened to the urgent need of a radical reform of prison-life and in future I will feel obligated to help bring about such a reform. Indian jail regulations are a bad imitation of a bad model—the British, even as the University of Calcutta is a bad imitation of London.

What is most urgently called for is a new outlook based on sympathy for the convict. His wrong impulses must be regarded as symptomatic of a psychological derangement and remedies should be devised accordingly. The penalising mood which may well be assumed to be the inspiration of jail prescriptions has to give place to a new orientation guided by a flair for true reform.

I do not think I could have looked upon a convict with the authentic eye of sympathy had I not lived personally as a prisoner. And I have not the least doubt that the production of our artists and litterateurs, generally, would stand to gain in ever so many ways could they win to some new experience of the prison-life. We do not perhaps realise the magnitude of the debt owed by Kazi Nazrul Islam's verse to the living experience he had of jails.

When I pause to reflect calmly, I feel the stirring of a certitude within that some Vast Purpose is at work in the core of our fevers and frustrations. Could only this faith preside over every moment of our conscious life wouldn't our suffering lose its poignancy and bring us face to face with the ideal bliss even in a dungeon? But that is not possible yet, generally speaking. Which is why this duel must go on unremittingly between the soul and the body.

Usually a kind of philosophic mood instils strength into our hearts in prison surroundings. In any event, I have taken my station there and what little I have read of philosophy superadded to my conception of life in general has stood me rather in good stead here. If a man can find sufficient food for contemplation then his incarceration need hardly hurt him much unless of course his health deserts him. But our suffering is not merely spiritual—

there is the rub—the body too has a say in the business, so that even when the spirit was willing the flesh might be weak.

Lokamanya Tilak wrote out his commentary on the Gita while in prison. I can say with certainty that he spent his days in mental happiness. But, withal, his premature death was as certainly attributable to his six year's detention in Mandalay Jail.

But the enforced solitude in which a detenu passes his days gives him an opportunity to think down into the ultimate problems of life. In any event, I claim this for myself that many of the most tangled questions which whirl like eddies in our individual and collective life are edging gradually to the estuary of a solution. The things I could only puzzle out feebly, or the views I could only offer tentatively in days gone by, are crystallising out more and more presentably from day to day. It is for this reason, if for no other, that I feel I will be spiritually a gainer through my imprisonment.

You have given my detention the name of martyrdom. This only testifies to the sympathy native to your character as also to your nobility of heart. But since I have some sense of humour and proportion—I hope so, anyway—I can hardly arrogate to myself the martyr's high title. Against hauteur and conceit I want to be sleeplessly vigilant. How far I have achieved this it is for my friends to judge. At all events, martyrdom can only be an ideal so far as I am concerned.

I have felt that the greatest tragedy for a convict who has to spend long years in prison is that old age creeps upon him unawares. He should therefore be specially on his guard. You cannot imagine how a fellow gets prematurely worn-out in body and in mind while serving a long sentence. Doubtless a variety of causes are responsible for this: lack of good food, exercise and life's amenities; segregating; a sense of cramped subordination; dearth of friends; and last, though by no means least, absence of music. There are some gaps which a man may fill from within, but there are others which can be only filled from

without. To be denied these is not a little responsible for ageing before one's time. In the Alipore Jail musical entertainments are provided every week for the European prisoners : not so here, for the likes of us. . . .

I should not omit to mention that to a detenu the goodwill and sympathy of his friends and relations and the general public can, indeed, be a source of sustenance. Although the influence of such imponderables is a subtle and subterranean one, yet when I scan myself I realise how it is not a whit the less real for all that. There is here a difference between the hardness of lot of a political prisoner and a common convict. The former is sure of his welcome back into the fold of society. Not so the latter. . . . To me such a state of affairs seems anything but satisfactory. Why shouldn't a civilised community feel for these unhappy men ?

I could go on filling pages registering my thoughts and experiences of prison-life. But after all a letter must come to a terminus sometime. If I had a surplus of initiative left I might have written a whole book on Indian jails. But just at present I lack the strength adequate to such a task.

I am inclined to think that the suffering in jail-life is less physical than mental. When the blows dealt, of insult and humiliation, are not too brutal, the torments of prison-life do not become so hard to bear. . . . But lest we forget too readily our outer material existence and conjure up an ideal world of bliss within, they will deal us these blows to waken us to our bleak and joyless surroundings.

You write you are getting daily a sadder if not a wiser man to contemplate how our earth is soaked by tears of humanity from crust to centre. But then these tears are not all of pain and anguish : there are drops of compassion and love as well. Would you really decline to traverse the shoals of pain and suffering if you knew there were richer tides of bliss waiting ? So far as I am concerned I see little warrant for pessimism or despondency. On the contrary, I feel, sorrow and suffering should impel us to courage for a higher fulfilment. Do you think that what you win without

pain and struggle has any lasting value ?

I received the books you had sent. I won't be able to return these as there is a considerable circle of readers here. It is hardly necessary to add that more such books will be welcome—yours being a beautiful choice, always.

Affectionately yours,

SUBHAS

37. *From Dilip Kumar Roy*

34 Theatre Road
Calcutta

15th May, 1925

My dear Subhas,

The familiar handwriting on the postscript gave me an amount of joy an adequate description of which I had better not try to give you in this letter. The prospect of the censor's suspicious scrutiny—not to speak of his being impervious to all warm sentiments—is not ill calculated to check the sincerest of emotional effervescences. If therefore this letter sounds a little laboured at places you will I trust make allowances for the same, won't you ?

It was forsooth with a great sense of relief that I perused over and over again your beautiful letter. It was you all over, and that made some amends for the gulf that separates us today. A letter should try to compensate a little for the physical distance between the correspondents ; it should try, that is, to surrender a wee bit of the personality of the writer to the recipient. Otherwise it is no letter. Yours has passed this test the drawbacks notwithstanding. So I thank you—not in the European fashion but sincerely—for your kindness.

I do look upon this as kindness on your part. The fact of my having the privilege of claiming you as a dear friend makes your writing to me not less of a kindness. A great French writer has beautifully said "Everyone is deserving of love except he who thinks himself deserving of the same." It is a profound experience with anyone who has tasted even once of the sweets of friendship—which

I maintain is the purest love. If then the grandeur of any true love be such, generally speaking, how much more inspiring must be the true love of a friend such as you? For it is, alas! but rarely that one can respect profoundly a person one loves or have the opportunity and privilege of loving the person one respects. When the two co-exist, then alone do we hear the deepest music that love can create. Don't you think so?

I am not disconsolate that men should suffer. There are some sufferings which purify us. But there are others which do not ennoble us—at any rate from aught that we can see of their lamentable effects. Lunacy, some hereditary diseases, or crushing poverty may I think be counted among these tragedies. I will send you a book by Dostoevski entitled "Brothers Karamazov". It is one of the most magnificent philosophic novels I have ever read or am ever going to read. You will find there some such tragedies enumerated with the terrible strokes of a master artist. I do not think the life of a political prisoner—provided he is not forced to spend years of his youth in prison—is so deplorable a tragedy, specially to one who is of a philosophic temperament such as yours. But then what if the prisoner is not eminently philosophic? Maeterlinck has somewhere said very aptly that it is on our outlook on life's tragedies that their uplifting or demoralising power depends. Socrates is enriched by the bereavement of his son but not Dick Carter whose mental balance topples over. There are certain types of tragedies I find difficult to reconcile myself to. Perhaps one day I shall but uptill now I am at one with the great Bertrand Russell when he says that it is good to admit that there are certain things in this tragic world of ours which one would well wish to be rid of.

It is not for me to say whether your experience is so. It is probable that you will come out even more shining out of this trial. But I feel sad to think of the unrelieved sufferings of the unphilosophic—(without any assumption of personal vanity when I call the bulk of mankind so)—who have never had the occasion to learn how to profit

by their trials and tribulations.

Your remark about your gradual realisation of a higher purpose being at work through life's apparent antinomies is inspiring. I too have sometimes glimpsed a superior purpose in these so-called ugly phenomena. But I have not realised it so far. I trust I will do so more and more completely with the onward march of life's hopes and aspirations, buffets and disappointments. I feel sure your courageous soul will lead you to a quicker realisation of this truth—for I believe a truth it is—through your vicarious sufferings for the others, and that is certainly "a consummation devoutly to be wished".

Yes I also believe that there can be no true joy but is attained through sufferings and sacrifice. That is perhaps the very definition of the joy on earth as it is constituted. Only I wonder if it could not have been better ordained otherwise! Then again there are no doubt some sacrifices (of our comforts or well-being) which are understandable—such as any idealistic perseverance for the attainment of a lofty goal. For this invariably necessitates one's eschewing more or less habits or inclinations which one would otherwise fain jure loose reins to. But the sufferings which are imposed on one from the outside do not enjoy this merit, do they? Of course I admit a truly philosophic soul will turn almost any experience to account whether prompted by the drive of his innate idealism or imposed on him by the external forces. But then does not the fact of such wasteful hindrances being revolting to the spirit of man prove that they could and should be removed or overcome? If it were not so then surely the word *reform* or *amelioration of social conditions* would lose much of its meaning. But then you must know all this, so I had better pull up.

I am working quite hard nowadays. What with my taking and giving lessons in music, reading French, German and English, writing a novel in Bengali and a collection of my interviews in English I am pretty full up. I will send you my books as soon as they are published. I am going to send you besides a few English books which

I have profited by and which I trust will not be foreign to your tastes either. I am going to Darjeeling early next week for a month, as the guest of C. R. Das. You may however always write to me here.

Yesterday Niren, Dhurjati and I discussed you. Your letter was much appreciated. I trust you will sometimes write to me such letters. I meet Kshitish sometimes and discuss a lot of philosophy whenever we meet.

I am preparing myself to write a survey of Bertrand Russel's philosophy of life. I am therefore reading some of his books over again. His latest book "What I believe" is fine—though some of his sincere views on morality must needs shock you. I will send the book very soon to you. Could you send me Russel's "Prospects of Industrial Civilisation" and "Icarus"? I want them for reference for my article on Russel. I have not got them here. Otherwise I would not have asked.

With my affectionate good wishes.

I remain lovingly yours,

DILIP (KUMAR ROY)

38. *From Sarat Chandra Bose*

38/1 Elgin Road
7.5.25

My dear Subhas,

I received this afternoon a letter from father addressed to you. I enclose it herewith.

Sunil left for Bombay yesterday en route to England. He has got the Sir Rash Behary Ghose Fellowship for higher studies in his own line and has also saved a decent amount out of his income to meet his own expenses there.

.....

I have written to Mr. Gladding on the different points we discussed at Mandalay. I wrote to him on the 24th ultimo and got a reply after 8 days saying that he was looking into the matter. I propose to send a reminder next Saturday.

I wonder what the heat is like at Mandalay at this

time. I hope it is not quite a furnace yet.

I have asked Ramiah to send you the books you wanted. I wonder if he has. Have you received Mr. Shastree's article on the Howrah Bridge?

I have also written to the Editor, Municipal Gazette asking him to publish the ad interim report of the Bidyadhari Special Committee in order that the public may have the opportunity of criticising the report.

Have your bowels improved at all?

Have you received any reply from Government to your letter asking for transfer to Bengal?

This leaves us pretty well. Hope you are keeping well.

Yours very affly

SARAT

(Sarat Chandra Bose).

39. *From Sarat Chandra Bose*

Passed
Illegible
12/5

38/1 Elgin Road
11.5.25

My dear Subhas,

Your letter of the 25th April came in on the 8th. Your telegram was not delivered nor was I informed that a telegram had been received from you but had been withheld. In my letter to Mr. Gladding written after my return from Mandalay I complained that it was not right not to inform addressees of letters that their letters had been withheld. I have not received any reply yet from Mr. Gladding and do not know if I ever will. I am sending a reminder today.

As regards the legal question you have put to me regarding your detention, the position is this. You were arrested originally under the Regulation and then you were notified before you were removed to Mandalay that your detention

was under the Ordinance which no doubt had a life of only six months. But in the meantime the Bengal Criminal Amendment Act was passed and you are treated as detained under the provisions of the Act. I am looking into the matter carefully and if I find any legal flaw, I shall not hesitate to take proceedings. More about this matter in my next letter.

Your letter is silent about your health. Is the heat telling upon your health? Has your digestion improved at all?

.....

Mr. C. R. Das has not improved physically. He left for Pabna this afternoon and after a couple of days' stay there will proceed to Darjeeling. He is staying at Sircar's house 'Stepaside'.

This leaves us well. Hope this will find you in good health.

Yours very affly
SARAT

40. To Sarat Chandra Bose

Mandalay Central Jail
22.5.25
Friday

My dear brother,

Your letter of 11.5.25 was to hand on Tuesday last.

You know I was first arrested and detained under Regulation III of 1818 by an order of the Govt. of India. Immediately before my transfer to Mandalay an order of the Bengal Govt. was served on me under the Ordinance. The previous sanction of the Governor General in Council had been taken for transferring me to Burma as required by the provisions of the ordinance (i.e. outside my own province) but the order itself emanated from the Bengal Govt. In other words an order of the Bengal Govt. superseded an order of the India Govt.—which appears

to me to be irregular and illegal. If the order of the India Govt. had been withdrawn before the order of the Bengal Govt. was served on me—the position might have been quite legal.

To add to this illegality no fresh order was served on me after the expiry of the Ordinance on the 24th April, 1925. No doubt the new act applies to existing detenus but I do not think it precludes the necessity of serving a fresh order. The provisions of the new Act were not brought to my notice till several days after the expiry of the Ordinance—on my demanding from the jail authorities, either immediate release or justification for my detention. The mere existence of an act or an order of Govt. cannot take effect until it is brought to my notice. The warrant against me under Regulation III—for instance—had been signed on the 27th August 1924 but it did not take effect until it was brought to my notice on the 25th October. I do not therefore think that the new Act precludes the necessity of serving a fresh order on me on the expiry of the Ordinance.

Further there is a clause in the new Act to the effect that the Act extends to the whole of Bengal. I am not in Bengal now. How then can the Act apply to me?

In conclusion I do not think that the position of the Govt. is safe.

I have not so far received facilities for consulting lawyers or taking action in a Court of Law here. The I. G. Prisons will be here in a few days' time and I shall ask him to give me the necessary facilities.

I have not improved so far and am much the same as before except that I have lost a few pounds in weight. I do not think my digestion will improve as long as I am here.

Our diet question still remains unsolved.

Please send me a copy of the rules pertaining to election to the Council of State. Have you enquired if I am a voter or am entitled to be a voter? If I am, I should see that my name is entered in the Electoral roll. If you all think that I should stand for election to the Council

of State, I have no objection. In any case I shall have my name entered in the electoral roll, if I am qualified to be a voter.

I have not yet heard anything in reply to my application for transfer to Bengal.

I find D.E. Satish Mitra has been appointed to act as Stores Supdt. in addition to his duties as D.E. III. The work is too heavy, I am afraid, and the selection has not been quite a happy one.

Please ask Book Company or any other shop to send me the following books: (1) Heart of Arya Varta—by Lord Ronaldshay (2) A Nation in Making by Sir S. N. Bannerji. (I think Lord Ronaldshay has another book on India written some time ago. If so, you may ask them to send that book as well.) (3) Narendra N. Law's—Ancient Hindu polity.

I find from the Corporation minutes that three names have been recommended for the post of Asst. Secy. I think Tamijuddin will be the best of the three.

How is Chotobowdi now? How have Gopali and Sati done in their exams? What is Gopali going to do now. He might go in for Engineering.

Yours v. affly

SUBHAS

(S. C. Bose)

41. *From Sarat Chandra Bose*

38/1 Elgin Road

Wednesday,

27.5.25.

My dear Subhas,

Your letter of the 16th came in yesterday. I got two other letters before this, which, I do not think I have acknowledged.

I was sorry to learn that you were suffering from rheumatic pain. I haven't written to father anything about this new ailment of yours lest he might feel upset. It seems

that Mandalay will not suit you. The place has been given a fairly long trial.

I really do not know what has happened to your application for transfer. Gladding wrote to me on the 13th saying that no such application has been received by this Government.

I sent a telegram some time back to the Superintendent Mandalay Jail giving my opinion regarding your detention there after the 25th April and asking him to inform you. Didn't you get that message? I do not think you need consider the matter further because under the new Act it is in the power of Government to set matters right.

The last three days were very sultry and oppressive here. Today we are having rains. I can imagine what it is like there.

Sunil intends to stay for one year in England. He wants to have further training under Sir Thomas Lewis, the heart specialist. He had no intention when he left of having any training in Continental Laboratories.

Yes, I agree with you that we ought to have more qualified Health Officers in the Corporation. The difficulty is in getting the right type of men. You may get Doctors with English D.P.H. degrees; but the ones that I have seen including Dr. Biswas are very much below the mark.

Ramiah was enquiring again about Santosh Babu's report about the Motor Vehicles Department and some other Corporation papers you have with you. Please return them as early as possible.

We had a special meeting of the Finance and E.G.P. Committee this morning to consider the draft reply to Government about the new loan. Ram Taran Babu who is at Darjeeling now has wired to say that we should send the Corporation a reply as early as possible. Possibly he has seen some officials there and discussed the question of the loan.

Gopali and Sati have done fairly well in their respective examinations. I don't think they will secure a good class.

Sudhir is going to Jamshedpur tomorrow to take up his new appointment in the Technical Institute there. He

has got to join on the 1st June.

Suresh has come to Calcutta for a few days to make some purchases for his match factory at Cuttack. He will also leave tomorrow.

Your *Mejobowdidi* is all right now. We are thinking of going to Kurseong on Friday next for a stay of five or six days. Next Tuesday and Wednesday are holidays and I want to avail myself of that. I shall also have an opportunity of meeting C. R. He is improving at Darjeeling, I am told.

Hope this will find you better. This leaves us well.

Yours very affly

SARAT

Subhas C. Bose Esq.

(Sarat Chandra Bose).

42. To Sarat Chandra Bose

Mandalay

Saturday

30.5.25

My dear brother,

I have not heard from you for some time past. I wonder if your letters are being withheld.

I have got some books from Ramiah but I have not got the map attached to Adams Williams' book on Rivers. Without the map the book would be quite useless. Please ask Ramiah to send the map as early as possible.

I am anxious to know how you all are doing. When you meet Santosh Babu, please ask him to write to me about Corporation affairs. He seems to have stopped correspondence altogether.

Yours very affly

SUBHAS

(S. C. Bose).

43. To Sarat Chandra Bose

Mandalay Central Jail

6.6.25

My dear brother,

Your letter of 27.5.25 reached me on 2.6.25.

Please make it a point not to write to father about my health if you can help it. I have not written to him anything so far except that the climate of the place does not suit me. It is no use making him feel anxious.

I sent my application for transfer on the 22nd April. It must have been detained in Burma either in the I. G. Prison's Office or in the Secretary's Office. I have sent him a reminder after I got your last letter requesting him to forward the application as early as possible.

Yes, I got the telegram you sent to the Supdt.—or rather the Supdt. read the telegram out to me.

I shall send the Corporation papers next week without fail. Please inform Ramiah about this.

I am following the loan question in the papers. I hope Ram Taran Babu will be able to persuade the Government to sanction it—otherwise there will be a deadlock.

When does *Sejdada* expect his match factory to start work?

I am glad to learn that *Mejobowdidi* is all right now. I hope you have been able to pay a week's visit to Kurseong and that all of you have enjoyed it.

Under modern industrial conditions, I do not think it is desirable to stake one's future on a single industry. It is always desirable—if possible—to take up allied industries as well, so that waste products can be utilized—advertisement and overhead charges can be shared and joint purchases and joint sales attempted with a view to economy. Some of the ingredients required for match-manufacture may possibly be manufactured locally if allied industries are started and the cost of production of matches may thereby be lowered. Gopali may take all these into consideration in determining his future career. Failing

this, I think he has a special aptitude for motor engineering.
How is C. R. doing now?
Hope this will find you all quite well.

Yours affly
SUBHAS
(S. C. Bose).

44. *To Sarat Chandra Bose*

Mandalay Central Jail,
13.6.25

"Since writing to you I have been informed by Government that they have rejected my application for transfer to Bengal. I have lost 10 lbs in weight since my arrival in Burma."

45. *From Sarat Chandra Bose*

38/1 Elgin Road
26.6.25.

My dear Subhas,

I have not been able to write to you all these days for obvious reasons. The news of the passing away of Deshbandhu was so stunning that we did not know where we were. We are now trying to raise money for erecting a memorial worthy of his great name.

Mrs. Das is bearing up bravely. She is in poor health no doubt but there is no cause for alarm. The presence of Mahatma at this time has been of great use in more ways than one.

I shall try to write to you on Sunday on the different matters that are now agitating the public mind.

Please have your urine examined at once and ask Captain Smith's advice regarding your pain on the spine. That must not be neglected. I have not breathed a word about it to father.

This leaves us well.

Yours very affly
SARAT

46. *To Sarat Chandra Bose*

Mandalay Jail
19.6.25

My dear brother,

Yesterday's Rangoon papers brought us the news of the sad and sudden demise of our leader. It has been stunning in its effect and I feel dazed. I do not know how long it will take me to overcome the effect.

Amid the general mourning that will continue for some time, one thing should not be forgotten. All important papers and documents should be carefully preserved. When we were at the Alipore Central Jail last time, he was writing a book—a gathering of materials for the purpose I should say, on the Philosophy of Indian Nationalism. I happen to know some of his views on Indian Nationalism and on philosophy of life. If I get his notes, I may be able to construct something definite out of them. I dare say nobody else will be able to utilise them for a better purpose. Besides, all papers and letters which may throw some light on the life of the departed soul, should be carefully preserved. A biography will be written in due time and if these are not preserved now, the task of gathering materials will be doubly difficult. I do not like to write to any member of his family at this stage, regarding matters mundane. But you may draw Sudhir Babu (S. C. Roy) aside and speak to him regarding the matter. It is also necessary to preserve all letters and telegrams sent to members of his family by way of condolence.

Regarding the Council of State Election what is important at this stage is to ascertain whether I am entitled to be a voter—and if I am, to get my name entered in the electoral Roll. Whether I stand or not, it is desirable to have my name entered in the Electoral roll.

The Rangoon papers are quite silent as to the cause of Mr. Das's sudden death. It appears that even Sudhir Babu was not aware that he was sinking. Is it a case of

sudden heart failure? I am thirsting for news.

Yours v. affly

SUBHAS

(S. C. Bose)

To

S. C. Bose Esq.

38/1 Elgin Road

Calcutta

P.S. Please send a chit to Dilip at 34, Theatre Road and tell him that I have got his books and shall write to him next week.

S.C.B.

47. To Sarat Chandra Bose

Mandalay Central Jail,

2.7.25.

My dear brother,

Your prolonged silence has made me feel rather anxious.

... ..

Some time ago a resolution was passed in the Corporation to the effect that *dalgolas* should be removed from Ward No. 2 to a prescribed area within the limits of Manicktala. I have given some thought to the question of city expansion and I am led to think that Manicktala should be allowed to develop as a residential area. Once it is drained properly and the Improvement Trust provides bridges of greater width and convenience in place of the existing ones, I am sure Manicktala will begin to grow rapidly as a residential area. . . . and I feel sure that within 10 years at the outside, Manicktala will be quite a healthy place. Consequently I doubt whether *dalgolas* and other nuisances should be so warmly welcomed in Manicktala. The chances are that by the time Manicktala is converted into a healthy place, the *dalgolas* will have become a serious nuisance and a serious impediment to

civic expansion. . . . It is therefore necessary to reconsider the question of the future location of the *dalgolas*. . . .

Another sore point is the hide godowns of Ward No. 8. . . . If these are to be removed, the question of their future location has to be considered very carefully. The solution of these problems depends on our conception of civic expansion and on our vision of Calcutta as she should be in future.

* * *

The Inspector General of Prisons was down here a few days ago. He asked me if I was sure that my dyspepsia was not due to overeating. I remarked that it was a pertinent question to ask after reducing the diet-allowance by 50%. Whatever one may think of him, he is quite consistent in his views for he has remarked in his annual administration report which has just been published that prolonged stay in jail improves a man's health! I rubbed my eyes when I read it. Is any comment necessary?

The I.G. suggested further that I should try fasting as a cure (so there are disciples of Mahatma Gandhi even in Government service!). I told him that I had tried it and found that it only made me weaker. . . . deleted by Censor

Let me end this personal topic here. I shall be awaiting your next letter eagerly for "more light" which you have promised in this letter. I have not yet written to Mrs. Das—I am waiting till the first shock is over. But I have written to Bhombal and have got a reply by today's mail.

.....

Yours v. affly

SUBHAS

48. From Sarat Chandra Bose

38/1 Elgin Road

15.7.25

7 p.m.

My dear Subhas,

I am really very sorry I have been so irregular in my correspondence. I believe I last wrote to you on the 26th

June. Ever since Desbandhu's death, I have been so busy with various matters that I have had to neglect my duty to keep you informed of all that is going on here. However, I am sure you understand the position and I shall therefore say no more about my silence.

Your letter of the 19th June makes it clear that you did not receive my telegram of the 17th June to the Superintendent of your Jail communicating the news of Deshbandhu's death. The telegram must have reached Mandalay by the afternoon of the 17th June and I wonder what harm could have been done if it had been placed before you.

I showed your letter of the 19th June to Mrs. Das and Bhombal. The notes which Deshbandhu made when he was in the Alipore Jail are with Mrs. Ray and will be carefully preserved. Mrs. Das also told me that she was preserving all the messages of condolence.

The real cause of Deshbandhu's death is a matter which will always remain uncertain. Dr. D. N. Roy (Homeopath) who attended on him at Darjeeling thought that it was a simple case of intermittent fever and took it very lightly. My own belief is that it was due to kidney troubles which were not detected by Dr. Roy. There were acetone and albumen in his urine and three days before his death his feet became swollen. The swelling of the feet was pointed out to Dr. D. N. Roy but he did not believe that anything serious was the matter. One thing is certain that ordinary fever could not have carried him off so soon, unless there were kidney complications (which were unfortunately not detected). Some people say that the high altitude of Darjeeling did for him. I don't accept that because it was not a case of sudden heart failure without any other complications. When I took leave of him at Darjeeling on the 2nd June, I did not know that his end was so near. He came to Kurseong with Mrs. Das on the 1st June and spent a few hours with us at Giddapahar. How I wish that I had taken a photo of him at Kurseong.

Mrs. Das is bearing up bravely. I often go to her and spend a few hours there. Both she and her illustrious

husband have been so good to us that I really don't know how to repay them for all their kindness.

You will be glad to learn that we have taken Bhombal into the Managing Dept. of the *Forward* on an allowance of Rs. 200/- per month. Bhombal has also taken charge of the newspaper agency from Mohini Babu and expects to make some income from it. If he proves steady, I am sure he will make sufficient income every month to live on. I welcomed the idea of bringing him into the *Forward*, as that would make him steadier than he has been in the past. The suggestion really emanated from Rangamamababu and I fell in with it at once.

Mathur proved a great disappointment after all the kind treatment he received from Deshbandhu. He stole some valuable articles from No. 148 and gave his master the slip. So you need think no more about him.

Bhombal has found out a suitable house in Hazra Road and he has rented it from 1st August. The rent is a little too high but I asked him to take it (in spite of the advice gratis of his kind friends) as Mrs. Das could not be taken to an uncomfortable house.

There has been great excitement lately over filling up the positions held by Deshbandhu. It has been eventually decided (on the advice of Mahatma Gandhi) that J. M. Sengupta is to occupy all the three positions. Personally I think it is a great mistake to put any other man into all the places filled by Deshbandhu. But Mahatma's decision was accepted.

The students who were receiving pecuniary help from you are getting it all right. You needn't be anxious on that score. I asked Bepin and others not to worry you in your exile but to place all their requirements before me without any hesitation.

I have now answered all the points in your letters up to and including the 26th June. I received your letter of the 2nd instant this morning. Hari Charan came in last evening and showed me the letter you have written him. I shall speak to Anil Babu and try to increase Hari Charan's allowance. He deserves it. If the Sevak Samity friends do

not permit an increase, I shall be glad to help Hari Charan myself to the extent of Rs. 15/- per month. I do not know how he would take it—he might be unwilling to depend on others. I shall speak to him and let you know what he says.

I was surprised to learn that the Inspector-General of Prisons suggested to you that overeating might be the cause of your physical ailments. Well, this much can be said that his diagnosis is original! Such originality ought not to go unrewarded.

I am sorry I have forgotten in what connection I wrote to you that you will have “more light” in my next letter. I have tried again and again to recollect but have failed.

I am not leaving Calcutta this time in the beginning of Sept. I shall try to earn a little money during the vacation as I need it badly. I have decided to leave for Kurseong in Oct. Father is still undecided as to where he will spend his holidays. His present inclination is to go to Bhubaneshwar.

In your last two letters you haven't mentioned anything about your health. I am rather anxious about that pain in the spine. Will you try massage with mustard oil? You should not neglect it.

This leaves us well. Hope you are better.

Yours very affly
SARAT

Subhas C. Bose Esq.

49. *To Basanti Devi**

Mandalay Central Jail
6. 7. 25.

Revered mother,

In this hour of your overwhelming tragedy, we, a handful of Bengalis imprisoned away from home, are sending you this message of sympathy. There cannot be any greater calamity to a woman than the one that has befallen you today. One cannot imagine any greater sorrow for a Hindu lady than the one that now envelops your heart. But to our great misfortune we are unable to be with you

* Translated from the original Bengali.

and other members of your family in this hour of distress. We shall only be grateful to Providence if this message from our hearts will reach you—cutting across the thick mist of sorrow and gloom.

He who has left us was one of our very own. Today, Indians as a whole, young and old, are mourning for him, but the loss is the most poignant for the youth of Bengal.

His relations, his friends of childhood, youth, and maturer years are today mourning his loss. The scions of the world of literature and art—in fact the intelligentsia of all categories—are weeping for him. The underprivileged—the so-called untouchables are pining for him. His countrymen, for whom he unreservedly gave away all his accumulated wealth and property and in whose service he dedicated his life, status, health and all, are stricken with grief. But, then, what of those youngmen of Bengal who dedicated to him whatever they could give and rallied under his majestic banner, who followed his command in joy and sorrow, darkness and sunshine, who sometimes while fighting under him won laurels of victory and at others embraced the shackles of imprisonment, who never left him either in the hour of dark disappointment or of glory of success—who found in him a superb combination of father, friend and leader—the state of their young minds can hardly be described in words!

Deshbandhu has departed. He has passed away at the height of his glory as if the midday sun has set. As the blessed one of the Gods, he has left the great land of his labours that was India for his heavenly home with the crown of victory on his head. Through infinite sacrifice he has today attained immortality. But, for us, all is darkness outside and nothing but emptiness—inside. As far as one can see, there are only layer after layer of thick clouds, hardly a ray of light can penetrate this wall of darkness.

We are reminded today of another occasion—when Bengal's horizon was overcast and the lion of Bengal was in prison. Dispelling the mist of gloom, a superb heavenly figure had taken her stand on the soil of Bengal as a symbol of fearlessness and power. The Bengali thus came to know

your real self and installed you not merely as the leader of the country but as the mother of us all. Bengal will never, never forget those days of glory, joy and exultation. The reverence, respect and honour that the Bengalees offered you then are assured for you even today in every Bengali heart. Then on, you have been the mother of all Bengalees, not merely the mother of Chiraranjan.

That is why we say, it is you who can give us strength, courage and solace in this hour of distress—who else but you can re-illumine, re-vitalise and resuscitate in the midst of the gloom of frustration that now has taken possession of the entire nation—in the midst of the despair and sorrow that has rendered the golden land of Bengal almost into a graveyard? Please reawaken Bengal once again with the same call by which you had once before infused new life in our veins! Please bring us again the same *mantra* with which you had once enlivened every Bengali home and appear amongst us once again as the embodiment of *Shakti*! All frustration will then disappear in a moment—a new inspiration, new energy and new enthusiasm will appear in our lives—a new light of hope and joy will light up the horizon as the rays of the morning sun. The youth of Bengal will pour out all their devotion at your feet; your blessings will bring them victory in their mission and they will offer you the laurels and sing in unison “Bande Mataram”!

Yours in service

Mandalay Central Jail
6/7/25

Shri Satyendra Chandra Mitra
Shri Bipin Behari Ganguly
Shri Jyotish Chandra Ghosh
Shri Jiban Lal Chattopadhyaya
Shri Madan Mohan Bhowmic
Shri Surendra Mohan Ghosh
Shri Satish Chandra Chakraborty
Shri Harikumar Chakraborty
Shri Subhas Chandra Bose

To Mrs. C. R. Das
148 Russa Road South
Calcutta

50. To Sarat Chandra Bose

Mandalay Central Jail
17.7.25

My dear brother,

Your long silence has made me feel anxious... I am inclined to think that your letters are being withheld.

.....
About 10 days ago, we sent a *joint* letter of condolence to Mrs. Das. I do not think she will be in a position to reply—neither do we want her to take the trouble if she does not feel like replying. But we would like to know whether she gets the letter

I have just received a copy of Sir Tammany Banerji's book—“A Nation in Making”. It seems to afford interesting reading.

Yours v. affly
SUBHAS

51. To Hari Charan Bagchi*

Mandalay Jail
3.7.25

I duly received your three letters. I did not have a chance to reply; besides, I have been unwell. I do not feel like doing any kind of work (not even studying). Previously I could write two letters a week—now I may write only one. As a result, letters pile up for two or three months—as I do not get the chance to reply.

The principal aim of the Social Service department is to help the poor to do some work—just organised charity cannot be its purpose. The feeling that to accept charity without a return is against one's self-respect should be instilled in the minds of those who seek assistance. So, if somebody is not prepared to work on receiving assistance—help should better be withheld. However, there are one or

* Translated from the original Bengali.

two things to be considered in this regard—

(1) One who is receiving help should have some free time for work. For instance, if a widow accepts some assistance but has not any free time after fulfilling household duties, one should not insist on other work. What we have to see is simply that nobody is being lazy after accepting charity. With this end in view, information should be obtained by local inspection. Helping those who will not work even when they have the leisure and the energy, is merely encouraging laziness and this should not be done.

(2) It is not proper to demand work of people who are physically incapable or who have no other working member in the family.

(3) If you wish to get work out of people, there must be a variety of choice; because all people are not good for all kinds of work. You should start with easy items, viz. making packets with old newspapers—and later give them difficult jobs.

(4) You must provide training facilities for those whom you want to work for you. People shy away from certain types of work—they will not agree to go in for such work until they have been trained, but once they have learnt them they will gradually get interested.

We have been reduced to a nation of beggars, so the beggars' mentality will not be changed overnight. If you hope to overcome the beggars' mentality in a day, you will only be disappointed. Social service requires infinite patience.

On the whole your programme of work will be as follows—you will provide the new materials (such as, newspaper, cotton or shell); those who receive help from you will in return make finished products out of the raw materials. It will be your responsibility to sell these goods; you should arrange with different shops to purchase the products from you. What profit will accrue after they have sold the goods and after meeting the expenses will bring funds (partly at least) necessary for distribution of relief. Rather than being dependent for all time on public charity, you should arrange for some independent income of the

society. Of course, all this is a matter of time and effort.

Please try to collect books from authors and others for the library instead of spending money in the purchase of books.

Please ask Anil Babu not to collect books for the library haphazardly but follow a method in this regard. You should of course accept such books also as are given free. But still, there should be a method. First of all, you should collect well-known Bengali, English and Continental literary Works. Then, you should collect history books relating to India, England and all other countries of the world. Then, you should obtain books on science and biographies of great men. Simultaneously, please try to collect books on economics, politics, agriculture and commerce. It will be good if you can collect books on all subjects at the same time. The important point is that there should be some books on every subject—so that a person of any taste will have something to read. It is not necessary to keep cheap novels—but good novels should be there. We must have a model library on a small scale.

* * *

If you have to buy yarn from a far-off place you will not be able to maintain your Weaving Department. You must try to get yarn produced in the homes of those receiving relief and of members of the Society; your efforts will be of no avail if at least some of the yarn is not produced in Bhowanipure or near about. There is something more that you should bear in mind. If yarn is produced by local people, it will be an indication of their genuine sympathy for the institution. No institution can carry on for a long time without the sympathy of the local population.

There will be such people in the locality who will produce yarn but not sell it. If you can get *dhoties* or *sarees* made out of their yarn, they may go on with the spinning. Formerly, many people used to get *dhoties* or *sarees* made in this manner. I do not know what the situation is like today, but I feel there should be arrangements in the Society for making *dhoties* and *sarees* with yarn supplied by parties.

(5) Please see that yarn is produced in the homes of members. So long.

Subhas Chandra Bose

52. To Dilip Kumar Roy

Mandalay Central Jail,
25.6.25

My dear Dilip,

After my last letter I have received in all three letters from you so far, dated, May 6, 15, June 15.

I am in receipt also of the parcel of books you sent, with the sole exception of Turgenev's *Smoke*. The parcel was opened in the office, so I have asked our Superintendent to look into the matter.

I left behind Bertrand Russel's *Prospects of Industrial Civilisation* in Berhampore whence I was transferred here. Quite a group of my fellow prisoners were eager about keeping the book. But Russel's *Free Thought* and *Official Propaganda* isn't with me. You never sent it, did you?

I thank you, Dilip, for selecting books for me. We all hope the work you have started will fare famously, God willing. I need hardly tell you that your own writing I will read with the respect it deserves. But do see to the get-up of your books, for it should leave nothing to be desired.

You can imagine what dominates my thought today. I believe there is but one thought in all minds now: the death of our great Deshbandhu. When I first read the news in print I could hardly credit my eyes. But alas, the report is cruelly true. Ours is indeed an ill-starred nation.

The thoughts that are running riot in my mind today must remain unvoiced although sometimes I feel like publishing them if only to get some reprieve. But they are too sacred and precious to be shared with strangers—and the Censor is worse than a stranger. So I will only say that

if for the country the loss is irreparable, for the youth of Bengal it is cataclysmic, appalling.

I am desolate with a sense of bereavement. For I feel so vividly near to the great departed in the world of memory that it is impossible for me just now to write something about him analysing his great qualities. I hope when the time comes I will be able to give the world some idea of the glimpses I had of him in his unguarded moments as I watched him at close range. There must be a good many like me who, though they know a great deal about him, yet do not feel equal to writing about it all lest through vocal praise they diminish the stature of his outstanding nobility.

When you say, roundly, that the last residue of pain and sorrow is not suffering, I am at one with you. There are certain tragedies in life—like the one mentioned just now—which I cannot acclaim. Being neither a sage nor a humbug, I cannot declare that all kinds of affliction are acceptable to me. At the same time, it has often made me pause to think that there are a few unfortunates (they may indeed be fortunate for all we know!) who seem to be born as targets for flings of Fate of every description. But leaving aside this question of degree I may say that if some must drain to the dregs the cup of sorrow, it were better if they drank the potion in a spirit of self-surrender. For even if we admit that such a spirit may not withstand, like a Chinese wall, the assaults of destiny, it must, for all that, greatly heighten our natural powers of fortitude. When Russel says there are tragedies which men would be spared if they could, he only speaks for the typical worldling. For I believe that a stainless saint—or his polar opposite, the mountebank—will disown such a statement.

But I wonder if you are right in holding that those who are neither philosophic nor thoughtful meet in pain nothing but pain. For even the unphilosophic (I call them so from the abstract point of view) may have an idealism of their own which they will cherish and love as a thing to be worshipped. When these are up against pain and sorrow they derive their courage and hope from their source of

adoration. Among those who are with me bearing up against the suffering of jail-life, there are some who are neither thoughtful nor philosophic, and yet they affront pain calmly, even like heroes. These may not be philosophic in the common acceptation of the term, but you can hardly class them as aliens to the world of ideas. Probably this applies more or less to all who are activists by temperament, the world over.

My eyes have opened not a little through a study of the criminal psychology. When I was jailed, in 1922, a convict used to work in our yard as a servant. At that time I used to live in the same room with Deshbandhu. His heart of tenderness went all out to the fellow albeit he was an old hand, having had already eight previous convictions to his credit. Nonetheless, he felt unconsciously drawn towards Deshbandhu till he became exceedingly attached to his master. When Deshbandhu was released he asked his devotee to go straight to his house at the expiry of his term, shunning even the shadow of his old comrades in crime. The poor wretch acquiesced and, subsequently, was as good as his word. You will be surprised to learn that the man who had been a felon all his life has been living in our great leader's house ever since and though he does sometimes revert to his tantrums still, yet roundly, he is today a different man altogether, living a harmless enough life with the rest. I have no doubt that he is among those on whom the blow of this bereavement has fallen at its heaviest. Some say the greatness of a man were best judged through his little acts, little things. On this criterion too Deshbandhu must be adjudged a great soul even if you reckoned without his great service to the country.

I have divagated.... I have not been able yet to answer your letter fully. But I shall have to cry halt here if I mean to catch today's mail which I must because I know you will be anxious to have tidings of me. More in my next.

Ever affectionately yours
SUBHAS

53. To Dilip Kumar Roy
C/o. D.I.G., I.B. C.I.D. Bengal,
13, Elysium Row,
Calcutta.

Mandalay Jail
11.9.25

My dear Dilip,

My last letter to you was unfinished and I intended to follow it up with another one the next week. But a terrible calamity intervened—which swept us off our feet. Even today I do not know where I stand and I am sure the feelings of all are much the same—though in my case there is an irrecoverable personal loss to deepen my misery, as well as a double dose of bondage to heighten my suffering. The sense of personal loss may wane with the passage of time, but I am sure that the magnitude of the loss to the public will become more and more manifest as the days roll by. So versatile was his talent and so many-sided his activities—that people in different and widely separate spheres—will be hard hit by the loss. I used to criticise him by saying that he had too many irons in the fire—but creative spirits do not submit to pragmatic or logical limitations and I have no doubt that it was only the fullness of life and realization that impelled him to attempt reconstruction in so many different spheres of our national life.

You all had at least the opportunity of paying your last homage and even now you can find some solace in trying to perpetuate his memory. But it has pleased God to drive home into our minds a feeling of utter destitution as a result of confinement in remote Mandalay during such a crisis as this. It is only because I am exceedingly optimistic by temperament that I can still maintain my equilibrium. It is difficult to find adequate expression when one's feelings are stirred to their depths and I shall therefore pass on to something else.

How far have you proceeded with your books? Are they in the press? When do you expect them to be out?

Why don't you write a treatise in English (for the benefit of other provinces as well) on the need for the revival and popularizing of Indian music?

I wrote to Rudra some time ago conveying my sympathy on his bereavement. I have not heard from him in reply yet. Do you hear from him?

Could you send us a complete set of the books of your great father? We want to read them over again. If you can, you may send them direct to the Superintendent of this Jail along with a letter (containing the names of the books) intimating him about the despatch of the books. All our letters have to pass the Calcutta office but the Supdt. of the jail is empowered to censor books. So you may save time by sending literature direct to him. By-the-way, have you been able to trace Turgenev's "Smoke"? I have been informed by the Calcutta C.I.D. that no such book was sent to them. I shall be sorry if the book is really missing.

Though the climate of the place does not agree with me, I am feeling happier from day to day. Problems which to me were unsolved seem to be nearing solution. And I must thank solitude and distance from home—for giving me that detached viewpoint which is necessary for the solution of many of our problems. If I had been more fit physically, I would have profited more by my enforced exile but as things stand I still hope to make the most of my stay here. Burma is in many respects a wonderful country and my study of Burmese life and civilization is furnishing me with many new ideas. Their various shortcomings notwithstanding, I consider the Burmese—like the Chinese—to be considerably advanced from a social point of view. What they do lack most of all is initiative—what Bergson would call "elan vital"—the vital impulse to overcome all obstacles and march along the road to progress. They have developed a perfect social democracy—women, by the way, are more powerful here than in any European country—but alas! the enervating climate seems to have robbed them of all initiative. Abundance of crops in a sparsely populated country has for centuries past made living easy in Burma—with the inevitable result that

slackness of mind and body seems to have taken possession of the Burmese. But I feel sure that once they are able to develop sufficient initiative, there will be no limit to their progress.

You probably know that the percentage of literate people in Burma, both among males and females, is more than in any other part of India. This is due to the indigenous and wonderfully cheap system of primary education through the agency of the priests. In Burma, even today, every boy is supposed to don the yellow robe for a few months. This system has not only an educative and moral value but has a levelling effect as well—since rich and poor are thus brought together. There is thus an extensive system of primary education which hardly costs anything.

In your last letter you seem to assume that the unphilosophic are doomed to suffer in their confinement. This is not wholly true. There are people who are inspired by idealism of some kind but who are unphilosophic. During the last war innumerable people went through suffering and pain of every kind, who were inspired by love of country but were altogether unphilosophic. As long as that idealism is present, I believe a man can brave suffering with equanimity—and even joy. Of course one who is philosophically inclined can turn his suffering to a higher purpose, enriching himself thereby. But then is it not true that we are all philosophers in embryo and it only requires a touch of suffering to awaken the philosophic impulse?

I shall stop here for the present and hope that you will send me an early reply. With love and good wishes to you and remembrances to all my kind friends.

I am
Ever yours affectionately
SUBHAS

D. K. Roy Esq.
34, Theatre Road,
Calcutta.

54. From Dilip Kumar Roy

Benares,
27.9.25

My dear Subhash,

Your two last letters have remained unanswered. Your last letter I received only a few days ago at Bhagalpur where I stopped till yesterday at the house of an uncle of mine.

You can hardly form an adequate idea how fortifying your brave letters prove to us now of all times. We all look up to you as our future beloved political leader—No, do not smile sceptically at this remark of mine, allowing your native humility to disown such a high tribute to your personality. Yes we, of the present generation pin our faith on you as the one man who can lead us and that at no distant date either. I wonder if such fond expectations that we, as your admiring friends, cherish with regard to you in these days of the dashing down of our most ardent hopes will give you any real comfort. For you may very well decide to attribute such hopes on our part to the partiality of loving friendship. I should think nevertheless that sincere admiration does help us in times of dejection. Let this belief justify my lavishing such encomiums on you a friend.

Yes I can quite imagine how the sudden death of our beloved leader must have hit *you* hard, you who have known him better than any of us. I came to know him a little intimately only last March at Patna when he was the guest of his brother Justice P. R. Das. I came to entertain a genuine affection for his sweetness of character. You may be knowing that I attach a great importance to the private character of a man more than his public one. The public side of a great man's personality may be great, its contribution may be of greater importance to his countrymen, (even though that is a debatable point) but his private side shows the essence of the man—the man in his true colours. I was charmed with the contact of his intimate personality—and that is something I have always set store by. The perfume of his personality still pervades in my world of

memories. He had invited me to stay with him at Darjeeling and my only regret is that I procrastinated. There I missed something, I am the loser by missing, and it is an unqualified tragedy I call it. He struck me as a personality which can make even a *pardeshi* a *swadeshi*, a man in the street his own. In this respect he resembles Romain Rolland a great deal.

As for my book I have completed the first article viz. that on Romain Rolland. I am now working to prepare my articles on Russel and Aurobindo. I have recently been reading the latter's philosophical lucubrations from the *Arya* and I must say I call him one of the greatest constructive thinkers and original philosophers that the world has ever had the good fortune of seeing. One of the principal points in my article on him will be to prove this thesis. Probably you will regret that he should have left politics for philosophy. At one time I remember having regretted so myself. But now I am coming more and more to doubt the wisdom of such scepticism of religious or philosophical activities. It is a big subject but may be we will discuss it someday in the near future. Knowing you as I do I can well picture to myself your attitude regarding him. But I am coming more and more to think that no matter how low a country or a nation may have fallen (as we unquestionably have) there must be some *sadhaks* or devotees who will devote their lives to keep the light of culture and thought burning in the temple of human civilisation. Utilitarians or practical men will probably pronounce the usual anathemas against such egocentric activities (?) when the nation suffers and withers away little by little. But I wonder if the mere sincerity of our desires to work for the country's good to the neglect of what we are specially cut out for can in the long run promote the good we so earnestly seek to promote. I am reminded of a remark of the great Danish critic Raudon that when all is said and done the highest cultural activities and contributions of the world's greatest men must eventually be the property of all—as they must in their very nature be meant to be the property of all and not that of a narrow coterie of the

initiated. So I wonder if it is not the achieving our best intellectually and becoming ourselves in the truest sense of the term that we can acquit ourselves of our most sacred obligation to our country and mankind at large. (I hope I am not talking big.) Romain Rolland holds the same view when he says "Notre devirs c'est de're grand et defendre la grandeuse sur herre" (Our first duty is to be great and defend greatness on earth). I have some misgivings lest you should be prone to look upon this motto as smacking more of egoism than altruism. But I feel somehow that you will come to share my view sooner or later. However let this pass.

I think I did not send you the "Smoke" after all. So don't worry. I have got back the book "Prospects of Industrial Civilisation" by Russel. Could you send me his "Free thought and Official Propaganda", "Icarus on the Future of Science," at your earliest convenience? I will need them for my article on Russel.

I am going to write to Haridas Chatterji to send you father's books. I trust you will get them within a fortnight of the receipt of this note.

I have received a long note from Bertrand Russel a few weeks back where he expresses a keen desire to visit our country. I am going to try to move the Calcutta Senate to invite him to come to India for three years as the paid Vice-chancellor. I have my doubts though whether they will allow him to come over.

I have met a great yogi of late who has impressed me extremely deeply. But I cannot write about him in this letter. He is a wonderful man and a man of great vision and depth. His powers border on the miraculous to boot. He has an inordinately high opinion of the work for which Aurobindo is schooling himself.

Please let me know at your earliest convenience whether you have received this letter.

I am just now stopping for a few days at the house of Tulsi. We are a merry party here. Having plenty of music. How I wish you were with us. You would have so enjoyed it.

I intend to tour round Rajputana now for about a month or so. There are some fine musicians there I am told. I am not doing badly in my musical activities.

I meet Kshitish occasionally. He is working hard at the Corporation which misses you every moment—he tells me.

I need hardly enjoin on you to be of good cheer—you are of a worthier mettle than we.

So I conclude for the present. Let me however send you my heartfelt love and Bijoya's embraces. My heart is on its wings to you.

Yours lovingly
DILIP KUMAR ROY

55. *To The Inspector General
of Prisons, Burma.*

Mandalay Jail
8.7.25

Dear Sir,

In connection with the statement made by Earl Winter-ton before the House of Commons that "the conditions of confinement in Mandalay Jail were healthy and comfortable" I drew your attention when you were here to the horrible conditions of the bathroom we have been using for the last five months. I was told at the time that the work of constructing a new bathroom would be taken in hand almost at once. No start has however been made uptill now. The walls and roof are, as you know, made of bamboo mats. When there is a shower not only does the water find its way in but the mats emit a disagreeable stench. I do not know whether the work will be done by the P.W. Dept. or by a contractor. In any case it is high time that a move had been made. We shall feel obliged if you could make the wheels of the P.W. Dept move a little faster.

Yours faithfully
S. C. BOSE

56. *To The Inspector General
of Prisons, Burma.*

Mandalay Central Jail
9.7.25

Dear Sir,

In the statement made by Earl Winterton before the House of Commons on or about the 9th June regarding Political Prisoners from Bengal confined in Mandalay Jail there is reference to lawn-tennis. We do not find any lawn here where we can play tennis and it therefore surprises us to find an official so highly placed as Earl Winterton making an inaccurate statement before the House of Commons.

There is a tennis court no doubt but, thanks to the Chief Jailer, it has been constructed so badly that the slightest shower floods the court and makes it unfit for use. If it had been cemented, not only would the court have been in a much better condition but it would have dried up in no time after each shower.

In Earl Winterton's statement there is also reference to badminton but the badminton court has been in disrepair for the last two months or so with the result that play has been at a standstill.

There is also reference to Ping-Pong. A proper Ping-Pong table has never been supplied to us. The dining table has had to serve as a Ping-Pong table. But even that table has so many cracks and the level is so uneven that we have had to give up playing Ping-Pong.

The statement made by Earl Winterton has been so carefully worded that it leaves one the impression that we are living in extreme comfort. My object in writing this is to show a part of the other side of the picture.

There is another matter to which I may refer here. A tank was constructed some time ago at considerable expense to serve as a swimming bath. The idea at the beginning was to fill up the tank with fresh water and to give a fresh supply every day, so that by keeping the water in a running condition little pollution could take place. In

practice, however, when the tank is once filled hardly any fresh water is given daily. The result is that the water soon gets polluted and the tank has to be emptied at frequent intervals and only for a short period every month can we use the tank.

I have brought this matter to the notice of the Superintendent but without much effect. The Chief Jailer says that no more water can be spared. This is far from true—when the tank is once emptied it is generally filled in about 3 days' time. This means that sufficient water can be supplied daily to fill about one third of the whole tank. We, however, want a much smaller quantity daily when the tank is once filled. Moreover, if a daily supply is given, the water in the tank keeps fresh for a longer period and the tank has therefore to be emptied at longer intervals and there is a saving of water in the long run.

The Chief Jailer—everyone knows—has been against the idea of a swimming tank from the very beginning. Thanks to his wiliness, he has well-nigh succeeded in making it a failure.

I hope I have been able to make it clear that our comfort here does not depend merely on Govt. sanctioning certain articles or projects. If the local authorities are so inclined they can easily frustrate the best intentions of the Govt.—as has happened quite often. If the Govt. really desire that we should live comfortably it is necessary for them to see that their orders are carried out by subordinate officials loyally and in the same spirit.

I am

Yours faithfully,

S. C. BOSE

(On behalf of the Political
Prisoners from Bengal confined
in Mandalay Jail)

57. To Basanti Devi*

Mandalay Central Jail
10.7.25

Mother,

I did not try to write to you so long—language was hardly adequate and a sense of paralysis got hold of my arms. When I first saw it in the newspapers, I could not believe it. Then, when I read the same news in all the papers, I could not but accept the fact. He had himself written to me that he would recover in two or three months and then plunge into work. All of us hoped he would certainly complete his unfinished task. But then came this bolt from the blue! A man struck by lightning loses the power of his mind and body for a short while—but the paralysis that comes from such a thunderous blow does not pass easily.

What came to my mind first was that I was now in far away Burma. I was deprived of the opportunity of acting according to my conscience. This is a sorrow that I shall never forget. The jail—the iron door—the innumerable prison bars, had never before appeared so loathsome. I thought of sending a telegram conveying what I felt deep inside me—but being afraid that that would be just conventional, did not do so.

I saw him for the last time at the Alipore Jail. I knew already that I was to be transferred to Berhampore. After making my *pranam* while taking leave of him, I said, "I shall probably not see you for a long time." He laughed and said in reply, "O no, I shall not let you all be in prison for much long." Alas! I could hardly imagine then that my words would turn out to be so true—what an irony of fate!

I wrote him a letter on the 6th June—did he receive it? I received his last letter here. That letter and its language were the last expression of his love for me. In reply I wrote my letter of the 6th June and addressed it to Darjeeling.

* Translated from the original Bengali

A few days ago all of us wrote a joint letter to you and sent it to No. 148 Russa Road. We are somewhat anxious to know if you received the letter. If your mental condition is not favourable, you need not reply to the letter just as a matter of formality. News of its receipt will be enough for us.

Some amongst his friends and followers have been writing appreciations of him. But we are not competent to write appreciations. We were so close to him and felt the depth and largeness of his heart so keenly that the feeling itself leads to a sense of bewilderment—making it impossible for us to write.

I hope those who are there to console you have done their duty. Do I have the strength to console you? I myself need to be consoled. Let me say, therefore—may God grant you strength and solace.

I wrote to Bhombal and he has replied. I shall write to him again next week.

I do not know if my services would be of any use if I were outside. Neither do I know if there would be any need of my services. There cannot be any doubt, however, that I would then get a chance of being of some service. That I have not that chance today is coming back to my mind again and again. As if my unfulfilled desire and vain effort are again and again being thrown back at me by the sealed door. When man is powerless, he consciously or unconsciously seeks refuge in God. So, let me pray again that He grant you peace and strength. Please bless me by accepting the offerings of my very humble heart.

Your devoted son

Mrs. C. R. Das,
2, Beltola Road,
Calcutta

SUBHAS
(C/o, D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.
13 Elysium Row, Calcutta)

58. To Sarat Chandra Bose

Mandalay Central Jail
22.7.25

My dear brother,

I was so glad to receive your letter after a long silence. I was on the point of sending a wire to you to enquire how you all were doing.

I know how busy you must be and I therefore think that you should ask someone else to write to me when you have no time.

No, I did not receive any news by telegram re: Deshbandhu's death. I did not know that any such telegram had arrived until I got your letter of 15.7.25 in which you refer to it.....

Deshbandhu's faith in Homeopathy was so intense that he could not be persuaded to try any other system. Shyamadas Kaviraj, however, thinks that his friends and advisers were to blame for not allowing him to try Ayurvedic medicine.

I read in the Rangoon papers that the Deshbandhu number of the *Forward* was a success. Please send a copy to the Chief Secretary asking that it would be forwarded to me. *Forward* is not on the sanctioned list and a special permission for this number will have to be obtained from the Bengal Government.

Who is going to take Deshbandhu's place in the Directorate of *Forward*? Have you had any other additions to the Directorate of late?

By the way, who is the new editor of *Forward*—Mr. P. K. Chakravarti?

Regarding the Mayoral election, I do not want to say anything—but I am really glad that, no matter what the decision might be, there was practical unanimity among the Indian members at the time of voting.

Yes, the I.G. of Prisons is also a research scholar in

his domain. One of his latest researches—as published recently in the annual administration report—is that a man's health improves as a result of long confinement in jail? Can originality go any further?

I hope you will not neglect your health in the midst of your heavy work. . . . Prevention is better than cure and you should not wait till there is a breakdown. . . .

I am going to take up seriously the study of Bengali literature but I have no books here—I am sick of applying to Government and their grant is niggardly. I want to open an account with the Book Company and order books direct from them on my own. . . . I shall pay the Book Company after my release and they may charge me interest till then.

It is cooler now and I feel a little better. We may have a spell of hot weather in August. If it continues to be cool till the advent of cold weather, I hope to study in right earnest. You need not be anxious about my health.

Yours v. affly
SUBHAS

59. From Sarat Chandra Bose

38/1 Elgin Road
10.8.25
7 p. m.

My dear Subhas,

I got your letter of the 22nd July on the 5th August.

I asked the *Forward* office immediately on receipt of your letter to send a copy of 'Deshbandhu Number' to Mr. Armstrong with a request to forward the same to you. Through oversight, I forgot to enquire if it has been sent but I believe it has been. I shall get the information from Rangamamababu tonight.

We haven't as yet decided whom to take in Deshban-

dhu's place in the Board of Directors of the *Forward*. At the last annual meeting we took Mr. Goswami, Mr. Chunder and Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar into the Board. So we have six Directors in all now—the other three being Pandit Motilal Nehru, Babu Prabhudayal and myself.

Bhombal hasn't yet told us if he is joining the *Forward* staff. He wanted to consult his relatives and think over the matter carefully before he gave us a reply. I think he would be well advised to join us.

Yet, the Editor of the *Forward* is Mr. P. K. Chakravarti. Satya Babu is shaping very well indeed—I think he is the best leader writer.

I am glad to tell you that father is much better. His pain is lingering still but I hope it will pass off soon.

I am keeping fairly well this year in spite of the fact that I have had to put in hard work.

I have just written to the Book Company asking them to send you all the books of Lord Ronaldshay. I have also informed them that you will send them from time to time lists of the books you want and have asked them to send the books as soon as they receive your lists.

I was very happy to learn that you are a little better. This leaves us well.

Yours very affly
SARAT

60. *To The Superintendent,
Mandalay Jail.*

Mandalay
5.8.25

Dear Sir,

I learn from my brother that on the 17th June last he sent a telegram to you requesting that the news of the death of the late Mr. C. R. Das be conveyed to me. I have not so far heard anything from you as to whether any such telegram reached you, and in case the telegram did not reach you, I intend to write to my brother asking him to bring

the matter to the notice of the Post-Master General. I shall be thankful if you let me know whether any such telegram reached you on or about the 17th June last.

I am

Yours faithfully,
S. C. BOSE

61. *To The Inspector General
of Prisons, Burma.*

Mandalay
5.8.25

Dear Sir,

I do not think I have uptill now referred to you any matter strictly personal. But I now feel compelled to do so. You will probably remember that the first time I met you, i.e., about six months ago, when we discussed the question of diet allowance, I told you that I did not at first want to press my individual case though I felt that an increase was necessary. I made it clear that I wanted the general scale to be altered first and after that was done, I would bring forward my individual case. Since then I have scrupulously refrained from mentioning anything about myself. But I regret that the question of my diet allowance has been considered in advance without any reference to me. You are aware that prices are higher in Mandalay than in any place in Bengal. This, along with other factors, persuaded you that an increase in the general diet allowance was necessary. The same factors being present in my case, I fail to understand how you could recommend to the Bengal Govt. that my diet allowance should be kept stationary.

You are probably aware that under the law the Govt. is bound to provide for our maintenance in accordance with our rank and station in life. I need not refer to the standard of living to which I am accustomed as a free man, because you are not in a position to verify that. But it is clear that in fixing allowance the Bengal Govt. had in view a certain standard of living and decided upon a certain monetary allowance to enable me to live in accordance with that standard. In recognising a certain standard of living and in fixing a certain monetary allowance accordingly the

Govt. of Bengal, we may presume, had adequate reasons to influence their decision. When I was at Alipore the average expenditure on account of my diet allowance was about Rs. 10/- per diem. This I believe has been verified by the Superintendent of this Jail (Captain Smith) by a reference to the Superintendent, Alipore New Central Jail. After my transfer to Berhampur in December 1924, the rate was fixed at Rs. 6/10 per diem. After my transfer to Mandalay, for the first few months no fixed rate was adhered to. I did not therefore feel any inconvenience. But since the general rate has been fixed at Rs. 3/- per diem, I find it impossible to manage with Rs. 6/10 per diem. Prices being higher it is clear that I cannot live according to the standard to which I was accustomed in the Alipore Central and Berhampur Jail unless the diet allowance is substantially increased. I do not see why you should not apply in my individual case the principle which you accepted in the case of others.

I venture to submit that your duty is to maintain the standard of living to which we were accustomed in the Bengal jails. What standard of living would be adequate is a question which concerns not the Burma Govt. but the Govt. of Bengal. The Bengal Govt. for certain imperative reasons recognised a certain standard of living in my case. It is only fair that while I am in Burma I should be permitted to adhere to that standard recognised by the Govt. when I was confined in Bengal, and for that purpose a substantial increase is essentially necessary. Without being presumptuous I may make bold to say that your remarks on diet contained in your letter no 10529/103C are quite beside the point. But I shall refer to that in my next.

I am sorry that six months after my arrival here I should still be writing about diet allowance. But if the wheels of Government move so slowly, the fault is not certainly mine.

I am

Yours faithfully,
S. C. BOSE

62. To The Superintendent,
Mandalay Central Jail.

Mandalay Central Jail
7.8.25

Dear Sir,

We desire to send the following telegraphic representation to his Excellency the Governor of Burma, His Excellency the Governor of Bengal and His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India. We shall be obliged if you give orders so that they may be despatched as early as possible.

Yours faithfully,

BENGALI STATE PRISONERS AND
DETENUS IN MANDALAY CENTRAL JAIL

1. H.E. the Governor of Burma, Rangoon
2. H.E. the Governor of Bengal, Calcutta
3. H.E. the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, Delhi.

Telegraphic message :

Owing to highly insulting and humiliating behaviour of local jail authorities, reduction of allowance and other grievances, we are compelled to declare hunger strike this morning. Solicit early enquiry into our grievances.

BENGALI STATE PRISONERS AND
DETENUS IN MANDALAY CENTRAL JAIL

(This letter and the telegraphic message were drafted by Subhas Chandra Bose on behalf of his fellow prisoners.)

63. To The Chief Secretary
Govt. of Burma

Mandalay Jail
10.8.25

Dear Sir,

We understand that the Govt. of Bengal have recommended for the sanction of the Govt. of India a sum of Rs.

225/- per head per annum for bedding, clothing etc. for each state prisoner and detenu. It is not clear whether this sum is to include warm clothing as well. It is not known either on what basis this figure was arrived at. The above mentioned sum is altogether inadequate for the purpose and much more so, if it is to include warm clothing as well. We have tried to work out in detail the total amount which would be necessary for each of us taking into consideration the climate of Mandalay and the conditions in which we have to live. We should point out in this connection that the rooms being built of wooden palisades they afford little protection against heat and dust in summer and against cold in winter.

We are not aware if the Bengal Govt. made the above recommendation to the Govt. of India at the suggestion or on the advice of this Government. We would be sorry to learn that the Burma Govt. made a suggestion or a recommendation since no reference, whatsoever was made to us as to our requirements.

It may strike you at first sight on comparison that our list of clothing is heavier than the one formerly drawn up by the Bengal Govt. and issued as a circular to the different jails. But we should point out in this connection that the list was never adhered to strictly. It was constantly supplemented by the local superintendent. To mention only one instance, there is no mention of sporting outfit in the schedule of the Bengal Govt. Whereas articles like tennis shoes, shoes etc. were regularly allowed in Bengal. If there be any doubt as to whether articles not mentioned in the schedule were actually supplied to the Bengal Jail or not, it can be easily set aside by a reference to the list of clothing supplied at Govt. cost which we brought with us when we were transferred to Mandalay. If things were actually supplied to us when demanded but were not entered in the standard schedule, the fault is not certainly ours. We did not at the time care about the schedule as long as we got what we wanted—because we knew that schedule of the kind was drawn up more as a matter of form than for actual observance.

We have divided our own list into five sections as follows :

- Schedule A — Cotton clothing
- Schedule B — Warm clothing
- Schedule C — General outfit
- Schedule D — Sporting outfit
- Schedule E — Bedding

Each item in our list represents the requirements for the whole year. The Bengal Govt. list on the other hand mentions the articles that are to be supplied at a time. In most cases, renewals are necessary. A list representing the total consumption for the year is therefore bound to look more formidable at a superficial glance than a list like that of the Bengal Govt. which mentions the articles to be supplied at a time.

We realise that in the case of articles like overcoats, rugs, etc.—no renewals may be necessary for a few years if they are of good quality. We therefore suggest that if Govt. so desires, they may draw up a list of articles of this kind which are not to enter into a calculation of annual expenditure but which are to be renewed as occasion arises. The remaining articles which are to be renewed annually or oftener will then form the list on which annual expenditure will be calculated. We have underlined in red ink and marked A those articles which, in our opinion, may be formed into a separate list to be renewed as occasion arises.

The price quoted by us are approximate and are based on what we have actually been charged in the past. In case there are any misquotations we are open to corrections.

Our estimate is in brief as follows :

A : Cotton clothing	Rs. 128/4/
B : Warm clothing	Rs. 311/8/
C : General outfit	Rs. 131/12/
D : Sporting outfit	Rs. 81/8/
E : Bedding	Rs. 116/

It should also be made clear whether articles which have no connection with either clothing or bedding should be classed under this head. We are of opinion that no such articles should be so classed and it would not be fair if

the clothing and bedding fund be drawn upon for meeting the cost of extraneous articles.

In view of the above we venture to submit that the sum of Rs. 225/- is altogether inadequate for clothing, bedding etc. We therefore request you to move for an increase in the above allowance.

We are yours faithfully,
PRISONERS AT MANDALAY JAIL

P.S.—Since writing the above we have been informed that the Govt. of India have sanctioned the proposal of the Bengal Govt.

S. C. B.
13.8.25

64. *From Sarat Chandra Bose*

Passed

Illegible

D.I.G. Police I.B.

27.VII.25

38/1 Elgin Road
27.7.25
6 p.m.

Censored & Passed

Illegible

10/8

D.I.G., I.B. C.I.D.

My dear Subhas,

I believe you have received my previous letters by now.

I got your letter of the 17th on the 24th. Gopali and Sati have not passed their respective examinations. Sati has got admission into the Bengal Technical Institute (1st year of the Secondary Department). He did not want to try for the I.Sc. diploma again. Gopali has rejoined the Bangabasi College.

I went to Mrs. Das's place last night. She has received your joint letter which she appreciates very much. She has also received your letter. She will reply when she is in a

mood to do so. I found her looking better yesterday.

I cannot recollect now if I wrote to Book Company to send Lord Ronaldshay's new books to you. However, I shall see that they are sent to you at an early date. Sir Tammany's book is interesting but the name "Nation in Making" seems to me to be a misnomer. It is really his own autobiography.

Hope you are better. This leaves us well.

Yours very affly

SARAT

65. *To Sarat Chandra Bose*

Mandalay Central Jail
18.8.25.

My dear brother,

I have not heard from you for a long time. I believe you have been very busy of late.

I have sent back to the Secretary Cal. Corpn. 5 files that were lying with me. They are as follows:—Salt-file—1, Gram-file—I, Straw-file—1 and 2 files belonging to the Motor Vehicles Dept. . . . in all 5 files. I have also written a note dealing with salt, gram and straw which may be found useful. The report which Mr. Santosh K. Basu wrote re—the Motor Vehicles Department is not with me here. I have made a careful search but I have not found it. As far as my recollection goes, that report was not sent to me. It may be on my office table in Corporation Street—if it cannot be found elsewhere.

Please ask Ramiah to send a list of the books he has sent uptill now. I want to see if all the books sent from the Corp. Office have reached me.

Some time ago you wrote to me saying that you had asked the Book Company to send me some books. The books have not yet reached me.

I am sending a list of books I want from the Book Company. They may send the books in successive lots. It is not necessary that they should send all the books at the same time.

We have been informed by the Burma Government that permission to use musical instruments at our own cost will not be allowed as it will disturb the discipline of this jail—but the Superintendent himself told the Inspector-General of Prisons in our presence that he had no objection.

When will the High Court close for the vacation? Have you finally decided about your programme? I understand that you will be going to Kodalia during the Pujah week. We are making arrangements to celebrate the Durga Pujah here.

19.8.25.

Your letters of 27.7.25 and 10.8.25 arrived yesterday. I do not know why the former letter was delayed so long as it bears the date 27.7.25. on the postal mark. I am writing to the D.I.G. about it.

Before I got your letter of 27.7.25 I learnt from the Rangoon papers that our letter to Mrs. Das had reached its destination. Translations of portions of the letter had been telegraphed by the Associated Press to the Rangoon papers. I did not quite like the translation.

I have received the Deshbandhu number of *Forward*. It is quite a decent publication and does credit to the publishers.

I am glad to know that father is better now. Where does he intend to spend the vacation?

The weather is rather fickle now but on the whole it is cool. I hope there won't be a spell of hot weather before the advent of winter. As I wrote to you in my last letter, I am a little better than before.

Hope this will find you all well.

Yours very affly
SUBHAS

S. C. Bose Esq.
38/1, Elgin Road,
Calcutta.

66. To Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyaya*

Mandalay Jail
12.8.25

Revered Sir,

I read your "Reminiscences" in the monthly *Basumati* three times over and liked it immensely. Your insight of human character is indeed deep; the power to bring out what is beautiful and true out of your friendship and intimacy with Deshbandhu and through a wonderful analysis of the many small episodes—it is this faculty that has made it possible for you to produce something so delightful.

Those who were intimate with him are left with a hidden pain in their hearts. By mentioning some of our unspoken tender feelings, you have not only helped in revealing the truth but also lightened the burden on our minds. Verily, "the greatest curse in a subject country is that in the struggle for liberty one has to fight his own countrymen more than the aliens." The cruel truth of this statement and what follows in its wake was felt and is being felt keenly by the workers.

The following words in your article appealed to me most—"The gnawing in one's heart that man feels for the most beloved and the most intimate—this is it." We, who were around him, have today no words to express our bitter sorrow; neither do we feel like expressing it to others. "Verily, can one express his innermost thoughts to strangers? If they taunt us, it may well be bearable. But if they fail to appreciate their inner meaning, it becomes intolerable, and one feels, as the saying goes, "...*Arasikeshu rasanibedanam shirashi ma likha*".

There is something else that you have written I liked very much. "We were doing Deshbandhu's work." I actually know many such people who did not share his views, but who on account of the magnetic pull of his leonine heart, could not help working for him. And he also could love all people regardless of difference of opinion. I have not seen

* Translated from the original Bengali.

him judge human character with the usual yardstick of our society. He used to believe in the concept that one should accept man as a mixture of good and evil and love him—and this belief was the basis of his life.

Many people think that we followed him blindly. But he used to fight most of all with his principal lieutenants. As for myself I can say that I fought with him on innumerable questions. But I knew that however much I might fight, my devotion and loyalty would remain unshaken and that I would never be deprived of his love. He also believed that come what may in the shape of trials and tribulations, he would have me at his feet. Our quarrels were settled by mother's (Basanti Devi) mediation. But, alas, "the refuge for lodging our grievances and recording our discontent has now ceased to exist".

You have said somewhere—"Not a man, no funds, not a newspaper in his favour, even the nonentities heaping abuse on him—what a predicament for the Deshbandhu!" Memories of those days are still quite fresh in my mind. When we returned to Calcutta after the Gaya Congress—all the newspapers of Bengal were overflowing with untruths and half-truths. Not to speak of saying anything in our favour—they would not even publish our point of view. Swaraj Fund was by then almost completely depleted. When money was sorely needed, funds were not available. The house that used once to overflow with people—was deserted by one and all, friend or foe. So, we a handful of beings kept the show going. Later, when the house regained its pristine glory—when outsiders and careerists came back to reoccupy the arena—we were not getting the chance even to talk business. Outsiders do not know and will probably never know what labour, what gruelling labour led to the building up of the Fund, how we had a newspaper of our own and how public opinion was won back in our favour. But he who was the initiator, leader and high-priest of the great movement has disappeared before the final fulfilment of the mission. His mortal frame could no longer bear the two-fold stress of his inner fire and the burden of work outside.

Many are of the view that the goal of his mission of

service to the nation was to sacrifice his whole being at the altar of the motherland. But I know that his aim was even higher. He wanted to sacrifice his entire family in the service of his motherland. And he succeeded in this considerably. During the arrests of 1921 he firmly made up his mind to send every member of his family to prison one by one and also join them himself. That he could not send others' sons to prison before sending his own—was to my mind an extremely narrow view in the context of his ideal. We knew that he would be arrested soon. So we said that it was quite unnecessary to send his son to prison before his own arrest and that we would not allow a woman to court arrest till a single man was left outside. No decision could be taken even after prolonged argument—we were not by any means prepared to accept his contention. Ultimately he said, "This is my order—it has to be carried out." We thereupon accepted his orders under protest.

His elder daughter was married—he had no authority or claim on her—so he could not send her to jail. The younger daughter was then betrothed—there was heated argument as to whether it was right to send her; he wanted to do it and the daughter was also very eager, but all the rest were of the opinion that she should not be. Because, on the one hand, she was ill and, on the other, was already betrothed and was to be married soon. In this case Deshbandhu was compelled to abide by the general opinion. Finally it was decided that Bhombal would be the first to go—followed by Basanti Devi and Urmila Devi and he himself would remain prepared to go whenever the call came.

What happened outside is public knowledge. But how many have any idea of the feeling, the ideal and the inspiration that lay behind these actions—and which were closed to public view? His mission did not merely concern his own self—it involved his entire family. I am of opinion that the greatness of a great man is manifested more through small incidents rather than big events. I read with care the articles written by Deshbandhu's fellow-workers

and close followers in the *Ashar*¹ and *Shraban*¹ issues of the *Basumati*. Most of the writings are rather superficial and full of set phrases; only you have tried to delineate Deshbandhu's character through an analysis of small incidents. So I can hardly tell you how pleased I was to read your article—I had expected more than this from Deshbandhu's disciples and colleagues. They had better not written at all.

Sometimes I cannot help feeling that Deshbandhu's countrymen and followers are partly responsible for his premature demise. If they had shared his burden to some extent, it would perhaps not be necessary for him to overwork himself to death. But our ways are such that once we accept somebody as the leader, we burden him so much and expect so much from him that it becomes humanly impossible for him to carry all that burden or fulfil all the expectations. We are content to sit back leaving all political responsibilities in the leader's hands.

Well,—I have digressed so far from where I began. It is not only my wish but the wish and request of all of us here that you should write a number of other articles or stories about Deshbandhu like your "Reminiscences". Your resources cannot be exhausted so quickly and so I do not fear that there will be any dearth of material. And, if you write, there cannot be any doubt that the handful of Bengali State prisoners in far-off Mandalay Jail will read your writings with great interest and appreciation.

I shall probably not be here for very long. But, then, I have no more that desire to be free. My heart recoils from the prospect of facing the emptiness of the graveyard that will surround me when I go out. I am passing my days here somehow—partly in joy, partly in sorrow, and with memories and dreams. I am not sure that there is no happiness in the pain you get by banging against the iron bars of this cage. The realisation that my love for my country—the love that has brought me here—is real comes through this pain. That is why, I think, even if the heart

¹3rd and 4th months respectively of the Bengali Calendar.—Ed.

bleeds, one finds in this some happiness, peace and a sense of fulfilment. I am mentally not inclined at the moment to face the frustration, emptiness and the responsibility awaiting me outside.

If I had not been here, I would never realise the depth of my love for golden Bengal. I sometimes feel as if Tagore visualised the feelings of a prisoner when he wrote :

"Sonar Bangla, ami tomæ bhalabasi !

Chiradin tomar akash tomar batas

Amar prane bajae banshi"

(O my golden Bengal, I love you so,

Your sky and the air ever play

the music in my heart.)

When, even for a moment, the vision of Bengal's variegated beauty rises before my mind's eye—I have the realisation that going through all this trouble and coming to Mandalay have been worth the while. Who knew before that there was so much of charm hidden in the soil of Bengal, in her waters, in her skies and air !

I do not know why I wrote this letter. It never occurred to me before that I should write to you. But after reading your articles, certain thoughts came up in my mind and I wrote them down. Having written after all, I should send it on. Please accept *pronams* from all of us. Please reply to this letter if you feel like it. I do not feel confident enough to demand a reply. In case you do and in the hope that you will, I am giving my address below :

C/o. D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.

13 Elysium Row

Calcutta

67. To The Superintendent
Mandalay Central Jail

18.8.25

Dear Sir,

I am sending herewith some files belonging to the Calcutta Corporation which have to be sent to the Secretary, Calcutta Corporation, 5, Corporation Street, Calcutta. They may be sent through the C. I. D. or direct—as you desire.

In any case I shall be obliged if you give instructions so that the files may be packed properly. The papers are important & it is not desirable that they should be either lost or damaged in the way.

Yours faithfully
S. C. BOSE

68. *To The D.I.G., C.I.D., Bengal*

Mandalay Jail
19.8.25

Dear Sir,

I am sending herewith an envelope which will speak for itself. The letter inside the envelope bears the date 27.7.25. The postal mark as well as your signature bear the same date. After the letter was passed by you, it was apparently censored by some other officer on 10.8.25. The letter reached me yesterday i.e. 18.8.25 along with another letter sent by the same writer dated 10.8.25. I shall be obliged if you look into the matter.

Yours faithfully,
S. C. BOSE

Enclosed :

One envelope
S.C.B.

69. *To N. C. Kelkar*

[This letter was withheld by the Censor on the ground that it contained "criticism of the Government".—Ed.]

Mandalay Central Jail
Upper Burma
20.8.25.

Dear Mr. Kelkar,

I have been thinking of writing to you for the last few months just for the sake of communicating to you something which would be of interest to you. I do not know if you are

aware that I have been in confinement here since January last. When the order of transfer to Mandalay Jail was served on me in Berhampur Jail (in Bengal) towards the end of January last, it did not strike me at the moment that Mandalay Jail was the place where the late Lokamanya Tilak had spent the major portion of his long term of imprisonment. Not till I actually arrived here, did I realize that within the four walls of this jail amid the most dismal surroundings—the late Lokamanya wrote his famous commentary on the Gita which, in my humble opinion, has placed him in the same rank with intellectual giants like Sankara and Ramanuja.

The ward in which Lokamanya lived stands to this day, though it has been remodelled and enlarged since. Like our own ward it is built of wooden palisades which hardly afford any shelter from heat and glare in Summer, from rains during rainy weather, from cold in Winter and from dust-storms which have no season in their year. Within a few minutes of my arrival, this ward was pointed out to me. I did not relish the idea of an exile from India, nevertheless I thanked God that in Mandalay I would have hallowed memories to comfort and inspire me during my enforced absence from home and country. This jail, like others of its class, is ugly, prosaic and uninteresting but to me it is a place of pilgrimage sanctified by one of India's greatest men by continuous residence for a period of six years.

All of us know about Lokamanya's imprisonment for six years. But I am sure that few are aware of the extent of the suffering, both physical and mental, which he had to undergo during that period. He was here all alone without any intellectual companion and I am sure he was not allowed to associate with other prisoners. Books were his only solace and he lived in a room by himself. During his stay here he did not have more than two or three interviews. And even the interviews that he had, must have taken place in the presence of Police and Jail officials so that he could never have had a frank and hearty talk.

No newspapers were allowed to reach him. For a

leader and politician of his rank and stamp to be kept absolutely ignorant of the outside world is nothing short of persecution and only one who has been through that experience can realize the truth of my statement. Moreover during the greater part of his confinement, the political life of the country was flowing at its ebb—and he could not have found any solace from the thought that the cause which he represented was prospering in his absence.

About his physical suffering, the less said the better. He was a convict under the Penal Code—and as such his lot must have been harder in some respects than that of State prisoners today. Further he had been suffering from diabetes. The climate of Mandalay must have been much the same when Lokamanya was here as it is today. And if young men today complain that the climate is enervating, that it induces dyspepsia and rheumatism and that it saps vitality slowly but steadily—how much must Lokamanya have suffered—advanced as he was in life.

But how little is known of his silent suffering within the precincts of this jail! Of the many pinpricks which are incidental to the life of a prisoner and which on occasions make life unbearable—how few are aware! Imbued as he was with the spirit of the Gita perhaps he himself was above suffering and pain and did not therefore breathe a word about it to anybody else.

Often and often have I pondered over the conditions under which Lokamanya was forced to spend six long years of his precious life. And over and over again have I asked myself—‘If young men suffer so much, how much must the great Lokamanya have suffered in his time unknown to his countrymen’. The world is a creation of God but jails symbolise the handiwork of man. They constitute a world apart—and are not governed by ideas and conventions to which civilized society has become wedded. To adapt oneself to the life of a prisoner without debasing one’s soul is no easy task. One has to unmake past habits and yet preserve health and vigour, to submit to all sorts of regulations and yet preserve buoyancy of spirit, to refuse to be servile and yet enjoy equanimity of mind. Only a philosopher

of the type of Lokamanya endowed with a superhuman will could have overcome the emasculating effects of that incarceration, maintained peace of mind in the midst of suffering and bondage and have produced a monumental and epoch-making work like his commentary on the Gita.

One has to be in jail for some time in order to realize what strength of will, depth of *Sadhana* and power of endurance—apart from intellectual ability—are necessary for producing under such adverse, depressing and enervating conditions a work so profound and so sublime as Lokamanya’s *Gita Bhashya*. Speaking for myself, the more I think about the matter, the more do I lose myself in admiration and reverence. I hope our countrymen in gauging the greatness of Lokamanya will take all these facts into consideration. The man who could survive such a long term of imprisonment—being a diabetic patient himself—with all his intellectual powers and fighting capacity unimpaired and during that dark period prepare such a priceless offering to his motherland—is worthy of a place in the front rank of the world’s greatest men.

But the inexorable laws of nature whose authority Lokamanya had flouted during his incarceration must have had their revenge. And I believe that just as Deshbandhu’s death commenced in the Alipore Central Jail—if I may say so—so also by the time Lokamanya bade farewell to Mandalay, his days were numbered. It is undoubtedly a great pity that we should lose our greatest men in this way but I wonder if this tragedy could be averted by any means.

With best regards,

I am

Yours loving

SUBHAS C. BOSE

20.8.25.

N. C. Kelkar Esq.

Poona.

70. From Sarat Chandra Bose

Censored and Passed

Illegible

24.8.25.

for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.

Bengal

38/1 Elgin Road

22nd Aug. 25

My dear Subhas,

I got your letter of the 1st on the 11th.

I have asked Mr. Ramiah to send you a complete list of the books he has sent you.

Yes, I noticed Rakhal Das's article in the *Ashar* number of the monthly *Basumati*. The facts stated there are correct. The article is full of personal touches and that makes it all the more interesting.

I believe I have written to you that I went up to Kurseong on the 29th May and met Deshbandhu last on the 2nd June. No one who saw him 3 days before his death could realise that his end was so near. We talked on a variety of subjects and if you ever write Deshbandhu's biography, I can give you interesting matter regarding the last few days of his life.

I was a subscriber to *Narayan* but can't say that I read very much of it. I don't think we have a complete set of *Narayan*. We have stray copies in the house. Would you like me to procure a complete set of *Narayan*? I haven't met Babu Girija Sankar Rai Choudhury recently. I do not know if his idea is to write a biography of Deshbandhu.

Mr. Prithwis Ch. Ray announced some time ago that he is going to write a biography of Deshbandhu. The announcement, I am afraid, fell flat on the public.

The Book Company have written to me that they have posted to you Lord Ronaldshay's work. Their letter is enclosed herewith.

Have you got with you Arthur Griffith's book on non-co-operation? I don't find it in the library here.

Let me know how you are keeping. In answer to Hemanta Kumar Sarkar, Govt. have said that you have increased 10 lbs. in weight since you were taken. I believe you wrote to me a couple of months ago that you had lost 6 lbs. in Mandalay.

I was interested to read your letter to your *Bowdidi*.

This leaves us well. I haven't decided as to when I shall leave Calcutta.

Yours affly

SARAT

71. From Sarat Chandra Bose

38/1, Elgin Road

29.8.25.

9 p.m.

My dear Subhas,

Your letter of the 18th to hand just now.

I am off to Dacca tonight in a case. I shall be there for 3 days and expect to be back on Friday morning. Sir Binod Mitter and Sudhir Ray are opposing me.

When you were at Alipore, I think you told me that Santosh Babu's report on the Motor Vehicles Dept was with you. I might be mistaken.

I have asked Ramiah to send you a list of the books sent by the Corporation Office to you.

I am forwarding your list of books to the Book Company. I am asking them to send the books in three instalments.

I believe I am going to Kurseong after the Pujas are over. The only alternative is a steamer trip in East Bengal. This leaves us well.

Yours very affly

SARAT

72. To The Superintendent
Mandalay Central Jail

3.9.25

Dear Sir,

Mr. Penfold has just communicated to us the news that the Bengal Govt have wished to say that they cannot make

any extra grant for the Durga Puja. This creates a serious situation as it is obligatory on us to perform the ceremony. We desire to discuss the matter with you and the D.C. tomorrow morning without fail. We shall therefore feel obliged if you request the D.C. on our behalf to pay us. The matter is so urgent that every day is precious. We shall be also glad if you ask the non-official visitor to pay a visit as soon as possible.

We hope that in the meantime the work of image building will not be stopped.

Yours faithfully
S. C. BOSE
(On behalf of the State
Prisoners and detenus)

73. To Bivabati Bose*

The Great Durga be with us !

Mandalay Jail
11.9. 5

My dear Mejowdidi,

I was delighted beyond measure to receive your letter. That you found my letter entertaining made me happy—because I feel concerned from time to time lest I should lose all sense of humour as a result of prolonged imprisonment. The *Shastras* say : “*Raso bai sah*”, that is to say, God is but all-pervading delight. So, one who has lost his sense of humour, he has undoubtedly lost the cream of life—*Ananda*, or bliss ; his life has then become worthless, devoid of happiness and full of misery. If my letters make you happy, I shall take it that I have not yet lost the power to bring happiness to others. The greatest in this world—for instance, Desh-bandhu, Rabindra Nath Tagore and others—till very late in life or even till the last day of their lives—never lost their sense of humour and enjoyment. This is the ideal that we should emulate.

* Translated from the original Bengali.

Never mind,—let me now stop sermonising and start with my stories. We have had such an event here that when you hear about it you will perhaps think that I am narrating a novel or a drama. Our Malay was suddenly released and has left for home. He was sentenced to seven years and served about three and half years. According to the new government regulations, the long-term convicts may be released after serving half their sentence. According to this rule, news was received suddenly one day that Malay would be set free the next day. You may probably imagine the state of mind of a person who is yet to serve half his term but is suddenly informed that he will be released tomorrow. When all of a sudden the memories and images of such people come rushing into one's mind as one has not seen or heard of for ages and whom one did not expect to see for a long time—the person will probably become ecstatic with joy. We expected Malay would dance around in joy on receiving news suddenly of his release. But when he did not do so we could realise that he was completely overwhelmed. When asked how he felt he only said “kaunde, kaunde”, this is, “good, good”.

The day prior to his release I called him to my side and asked to know all about his family. He told me that he had two wives, two daughters and three sons. One wife was childless. For a very long time, that is about four years, he has had no news of them. So, at the time of release he was so worried lest all was not well with them. Whether they were all alive or were all well—such thoughts remained dormant all this time. But as he was about to be set free, while on the one hand he was feeling happy to think of it, on the other hand all sorts of anxious thoughts were entering his mind. That is why he could not be over-enthusiastic even after being informed of his release.

Then, I made enquiries about the state of his properties and was told that he was a landowner in the countryside or a Raja. Formerly they were entirely independent and fought with the Rajas of Burma for independence. Subsequently they were subjugated by the British. Meanwhile, about seven years ago, they had a fight with the British

for non-payment of taxes. In that fight, many lost their lives on both sides. Ultimately he accepted defeat and ran away. After being in hiding for nearly three years, he and his brother were captured with the connivance of a step-brother. His brother was sentenced to transportation for life and he, Malay, got a prison term of seven years.

Thereafter Malay showed me quite a few scars on his body which were the result of injuries sustained in the battle. Thereupon we checked up on the history of Burma and found that what he said was indeed true. After his release I found out on enquiry from other prisoners of this country that not a word of what Malay told me was untrue.

When we know that we made a sweeper of a village Raja, we felt ashamed. Eventually we asked him why he agreed to serve as a sweeper. He answered in great sorrow—"What could I do—such were the jail orders! Am I a human being here? I have been reduced to a dog. When I go out, I shall be a man again."

After hearing his pitiful tale we asked him what he proposed to do in future. After considerable thought he said, "I have not yet been able to decide anything. I do not know if my step-brother will again take a hostile attitude, because in my absence he was enjoying the estate. God forbid—there may still be lots of trouble in store for me."

As he was leaving we asked him if he would forget us on reaching home. He replied in a choked voice—"I shall not forget your love as long as I live—and I shall talk about you to my children and grand-children."

Now, will you tell me if the story sounds true or reads like a novel? There is a saying in English that truth is often stranger than fiction. This is it.

I have not been able to learn the Burmese language well—I have picked up enough to carry on ordinary conversation. Some among the Burmese know either English or Hindustani and we take their help in following Burmese. In spite of some difficulty we manage somehow on the whole.

Thanks to the tennis court we can have some physical exercise. Otherwise I would perhaps return home with arthritis. As it is, it appears as if there are signs of arthritis.

Formerly we could play badminton. I had always taken badminton to be a ladies game and so never played it. But everything gets topsy-turvy in prison—so we went back to our boyhood days and started playing badminton. I cannot but admit that initially I felt somewhat embarrassed. But as the *Shastras* say—when honey is scarce, one should use molasses instead. So, in the absence of facilities for other games, we had to be content with playing badminton. All the time we have to be in a small jail inside the jail—there is no way of our mixing with anybody outside our ward. In most of the jails, the wards allotted to us have been just spacious enough to play badminton. There is a little more here so as to make tennis possible. Even so the trouble is that balls often fly over the walls and land outside. And the ones which do not go out hit against the walls and return to the court. Nevertheless, something is better than nothing.

There is no way of adding to the water in the pool. Because a little addition causes the water to overflow into the drain. And, from time to time we have to empty the pool and fill it with fresh water. In fact, there is no real reason for calling this a pool rather than a reservoir. But then, one can at least console himself that he is bathing in a pool.

Arrangements are being made here for Durga Puja. We hope we shall be able to worship the Mother here. But a quarrel is going on with the authorities regarding the expenses; let us see what happens. Please do not forget to send Puja clothing here—we have to spend *Bijoya Dashami* here after all.

Anything is available in our hotel. The other day the Manager fed us with hot *jilebis*—and we blessed him wholeheartedly praying he may ever remain in prison. Some time ago he entertained us with *rosogollas*; although the balls were floating in the syrup all right, they had no syrup inside and if you threw them at anybody, there was the risk of his head getting fractured. Nevertheless, we swallowed the hard-as-iron *rosogollas* without a tear and in gratitude prayed for the Manager's long life.

We being Bengalis, we have of course cooking in Bengali

style. The Manager has come to the conclusion that in this world, papya is the queen of vegetables—and therefore papya is everywhere, in the stew, in the curry, in pickles or anything else. And as our Manager is a half-doctor, he has given the verdict that the more you eat papya, the better will be your digestion. To put it simply, it is a case of permutation and combination of the same common items. We cannot get the common items of Bengali cookery here. So, in case of vegetarain dishes here, it is papya, egg-plant, spinach—egg-plant and papya again. Thank God, I am used to eating mutton and chicken ; I cannot but therefore praise the Manager's efforts—what would have happened otherwise is anybody's guess.

I shall be guilty of ingratitude if I did not mention that at our persistent request the Manager has given us *Dhonkar dalna*, *Chhanar kalya* and *Chhanar pulao*.¹ So, let us sing his praise. Let not even the scandal-mongers defame him !

You have asked about the garden. The garden here is in a miserable state. We planted some flowering seeds but thanks to ants and insects not much has grown. The few that survived, the chickens have finished them up. As a result, what has remained of them are sunflower plants and one or two others of the same category. There are a few *Rajanigandhas*² but with hardly any scent. From time to time I miss scent and music. But what can one do ?

Good tea is not available in this part of the world,—so we have asked the dealer to order some from Calcutta. Lipton's and Brookebond's tea that is available here is undrinkable and imported from England. I wrote about mortar and pestle in my last letter. I need a good mortar and pestle for taking Kaviraji medicines. And, please ask Uncle Sailen to let me know the address of a good tea dealer. We drink the Orange Pekoe brand Darjeeling. We shall ask the local supplier to order tea from that particular dealer in Calcutta.

'Hilsa' fish of this place is most wonderful. It looks

¹ Bengali dishes.

² Tuberose: *Polianthes Tuberosa*—a white lilylike fragrant flower.

exactly like 'hilsa' from the Ganges. But in taste it has no resemblance whatever with 'hilsa' from Bengal or the Ganges. You cannot tell what fish you are eating. Apart from 'rohu' you cannot get any other good fish here. One can get prawns but the price is prohibitive.

I hope all is well at home. Where is Kanchi Mama now ? How is he getting on in practice ? Please ask *Mejdada* to remit the money I wanted. Will you be visiting our country home during the Pujas ? What about my Financial Secretary ? He is probably in Cuttack now. Have the marriages of Aruna and Gora been fixed up ? How are *Bardidi* and her family ? How is your health ?

You have asked about my clothing. Do you not know that we are guests of the Emperor ? How can we be in want of anything ? If there be any, the prestige of the Emperor will be at stake ! Is that at all possible ?

You have asked about my health. Days pass somehow. There was a lot of discomfort during the summer and health deteriorated. I applied for a transfer but it was refused. The authorities may be thinking that I am pretending to be ill. Else, they may be taking me to be most ungrateful ; the government is taking all the trouble of providing me with food and clothing free of charge and I, instead of being grateful, am pining for a transfer ! Anyway, I do not wish for a transfer any more. The heat is less and so I am feeling better. If digestive troubles do not get worse, I expect to keep well during the Winter. We can see the palace of the King of Burma from here—and we are confined in the prison that forms part of his fort. Often I am reminded of our past glory ; and when I think of our present state, I can hardly restrain my tears. What India was—where is she today !

I have learnt a lot here and in that sense have gained a lot. Whatever God wills is all to the good. I have come to realise after coming here how deeply I love my country.

Please accept my *pranams*.

Yours
SUBHAS

74. *To The D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D. (Bengal)*
13 Elysium Row, Calcutta.

12.9.25

Dear Sir,

I have been informed by the Superintendent that a letter I wrote to Mr. N. C. Kelkar, M.L.A. (Poona) dated the 20th August, has been withheld by you as it contains a criticism of the action of Govt. I am rather surprised as I do not think I wrote anything to which any objection could be taken. However, I shall be thankful if you send the letter back to me so that I may delete any passage that may appear objectionable on any construction. If after correction the letter is still objectionable from your point of view you could withhold it again.

Yours faithfully
 S. C. BOSE

75. *From Sarat Chandra Bose*

38/1 Elgin Road
 12.9.25.

My dear Subhas,

I got your letter of the 27th Aug. on the 8th instant. You might have read in the papers that I had been to Dacca in connection with Dacca Wakf Estate case. Sir Binod opposed me. I believe I made a very good impression there.

I am not leaving Calcutta before the end of this month. I am not staying here on account of professional engagements. I want to start some work in our village Kodalia—such as charitable dispensary, primary schools, *charka* etc. I am waiting for parents to come up. We shall make a beginning during the Puja week.

I know you are very much against my wasting the holidays here. But I can assure you that this year I am feeling remarkably well and if I get about 40 days in the hills, that will be sufficient for me.

I was glad you gave me full details of your weight

since your transfer to Mandalay. That will enable me to expose the Govt. version.

Yes, I have sent on your list of books to the Book Company. I hope they have begun sending you the books.

I shall remit to the Superintendent of your Jail by telegraph on Monday next the sum of Rs. 300/- as desired by you.

When you finish Ronaldshay's books, you may send them on to me if you can do so conveniently. I want to read them. Have you got with you Arthur Griffith's 'Resurrection of Hungary'?

This leaves us well. Hope this will find you better. With love,

Yours very affly
 SARAT

76. *To The Superintendent,*
Mandalay Jail.

Mandalay Jail
 21.9.25

Dear Sir,

I shall be obliged if you could procure for me or loan a copy of the Rules and Regulations for Election to the Council of State from the Deputy Commissioner of Mandalay.

Yours faithfully
 S. C. BOSE

77. *To Mr. Penfold*

Mandalay Jail
 21.9.25

Mr. Penfold,

Herewith a representation to H.E. the Governor of Burma. I have got a copy of it in my book. If you can send it today, I shall be able to make out a copy for your office record.

S. C. BOSE

78. *To The Superintendent,
Mandalay Jail.*

Mandalay Jail

21.9.25

Dear Sir,

We shall be obliged if you be so good as to invite on our behalf on the occasion of the Durga Puja, the Deputy Commissioner, the Burmese Magistrate & the Burmese non-official visitors to a tea-party on Friday at 4-30 p.m. Our invitation of course includes yourself & we hope you will accept it.

As Mr. Umes Chand Jhaveri, the other non-official visitor is orthodox & may not feel quite at home on the occasion, we are fixing Thursday afternoon for him.

You may maintain in the letter of invitation you write on our behalf that apart from this formal invitation if any of the above gentlemen have the time or inclination to call at any other time during the Puja days viz. 24th, 25th, 26th & 27th—we shall be exceedingly glad to receive them. It is possible that some of them—Mr. Jhaveri for instance—would like to see more of the Puja ceremony itself.

Your faithfully

S. C. BOSE

(On behalf of the Political Prisoners)

79. *To Basanti Devi**

Mandalay Jail

25.9.25

Revered mother,

I have not had any news of you for a long time. How are you? The only news I get about you are from letters from home. There is no other source. I expected that Bhombal would keep me informed from time to time but he does not do so. I wrote to Bhombal quite a few days

* Translated from the original Bengali.

ago—there is no reply yet. He has of course not replied to my previous letter either. Well, it is probably a case of out of sight—out of mind, and so he did not consider it necessary to keep me informed. And, in a sense, we do not exist. According to the Mahatma we are “civilly dead”. That is admitted but even so the mind becomes restive and seeks news from outside. If things go on like this for some time more, there will be no other way but to be “civilly dead”.

Today is *Mahastami*¹. The Divine Mother is being worshipped today in many a Bengali home. We are fortunate enough to have Her in this prison also. This year we shall be worshipping the Goddess here. The Mother probably did not forget us, and so it has been possible to arrange for Her worship even though we are away. She will depart day after tomorrow leaving us in tears. All the light and laughter of the Puja will once again be lost in the darkness and desolation of prison. I do not know how many years will pass like this. But, if the Divine Mother will make her appearance once a year, I expect prison life will not be so unbearable.

By the time this letter will reach your hands, *Bijoya Dashami*² will have been over. All of us will send you our respectful *pronams* on the Bijoya day. I shall consider myself fortunate if my heart's offering reaches you and in return I receive your silent blessings.

Your devoted son

SUBHAS

To

Sjta Basanti Devi,
2, Beltola Road,
Calcutta.

¹ The most important day of Durga Puja.

² The final immersion day of Durga Puja.

80. To The Chief Jailer

Mandalay Central Jail
26.9.25

Please hand over this book to the Superintendent.—Swami Vivekananda's Works containing Raja Yoga.

S. C. BOSE

81. From Dilip Kumar Roy

Benares
30.9.25

My dear Subhash,

I went day before yesterday to the famous astrologer who, I was told, can tell marvellous things about a man if the correct horoscopolical data are given to him. I did not believe it. But day before yesterday I was extremely impressed with the things he told about you by simply referring to the Bhrigu Samhita of which you must have heard. I will tell you what happened. That is the purpose of my writing this letter to you so soon after having penned you a long one just three days ago.

I went there with two friends of mine and submitted your *Kundali* or *rashi-chakra* which I had procured from a friend of yours. The man searched out some old yellow papers whereon were written Sanskrit *slokas* to correspond to the *rashi-chakra* in question. I simply gave him your name as S. Bose. He did not know anything else about you, and I hardly gave out any hints until the remarks proved true. I took down about thirty points on a piece of paper as he recited the *slokas* which purported to give a sketch of your general character and future. I do so for I think that will not fail to interest you. These are the things he told about you and your life in general :

(1) Fair complexion. (2) Fairly stout. (3) Handsome. (4) Proficient in English and European Vidya. (5) Has gone to Europe once. (6) Received a high Government post.

(7) Passed a difficult examination. (8) Scholarly and well versed in our scriptures. (9) Very sympathetic nature. (10) Cherishes no ill-will against foreigners. (11) One or two brothers to die. (12) To marry a beautiful and accomplished girl after 28 years of age. (13) Will have son at 30 or 32. (14) His fame will spread far and near (*desh deshantare keerti*) (15) To go to Europe once again. (16) Famous for purity of character. (17) Father a man of influence. (18) Extravagant in charities. (19) Ascetically inclined by temperament. (20) Will live up to 70 or 71 years of age. (21) Religious and honest. (22) Not inclined to illicit love. (23) Between 28 and 30 great mental sufferings (*atmakashtasaha mrityubat*). (24) To be released at 29 years of age. (25) To be married between 29 and 32. (26) Prosperous from 31st year. (27) To be imprisoned between 27 and 29. (28) Pious.

I think his sketch of your character is wonderful. At least I think so.

Won't write more now.

I am leaving tomorrow for Agra and thence I will tour through Rajputana. You may however write to me at my Calcutta address :— 34 Theatre Road.

Accept my best love.

Yours affectionately as ever
DILIP

82. To Dilip Kumar Roy

Mandalay Central Jail
9.10.25

My dear Dilip,

Never think that my vision is narrow or parochial. I do, indeed, believe in the "greatest good of the greatest number". But that good I do not equate to the purely material. Economists say that all work is either productive or unproductive. But the question which of these are really productive gives rise to furious logomachy. I for one

cannot look upon art and its kindred activities as unproductive, nor despise philosophic contemplation or spiritual quest as futile and pointless. I may not be an artist myself—to tell you the truth, I know I am not—but for that it isn't I who am responsible, it is nature or God if you will. Of course if you say that I am reaping in this birth what I sowed in my last, then I go to the wall. Leaving it at that, the real reason, in a nutshell, why I did not shape into an artist is : I couldn't. But this does not mean, mind you, that a lay-man is debarred even from enjoying art. And the amount of training necessary to a proper appreciation of an art isn't, I think, hard to acquire for a cultivated person.

Do not sigh regretfully that you have been wasting your days on music when, to put it in Shakespeare's language, "the time is out of joint". Flood our whole countryside, my friend, with songs and recapture for life the spontaneous joy we have forfeited. He who has no music in his composition, whose heart is dead to music is unlikely to achieve anything big or great in life. Carlyle used to say that he who had no throb of music in his blood was capable of any misdeed. Whether this be true or no, I am persuaded that he who cannot respond to music can never scale heights of thought or action. We want that the experience of *ananda*—sheer causeless delight—should quicken every drop of our blood, because we only create in the fullness of *ananda*. And what is there that can outwell *ananda* like music?

But we must make the artistic and its kindred joys amenable to the poorest of the poor. High research in music will, of necessity, continue in small expert coteries, but simultaneously, music must be dispensed as a spiritual pabulum of the masses. Just as the high ideals of art are stultified through lack of adequate research, even so art must wilt when, sundered from the life-soul of the masses, it is made inaccessible to all the sundry. I think art joins up with life through folk-music and folk-dance. The Western civilization has hewed away this isthmus between the two continents, of art and life, without substituting anything in

its place. Our *jatra*, *kathakata*, *kirtan*,* etc, survive today almost as relics of the past. One shudders to think of the poverty of life that must ensue if our artists and musicians fail to restore the connection between art and life. You may remember I told you once how fascinated I had been by the beauty of the gambhira music of Maldah. In it music is happily blended with dance. I do not know of any other province in Bengal where such a happy union has been effected. But in Maldah it is sure to die away soon unless, first, new vitality be injected into it and, in the second place, people in other parts of Bengal come forward to take it up. You ought to visit the place once if only to give a fillip to the folk-music of Bengal, I warn you though that gambhira has little or no element of complexity or grandeur about it. Its salient features are spontaneity and simplicity. Our indigenous music and dance of the people still survive, I think, in Maldah alone. So those who would revive such folk-art may as well start work from there.

From the point of view of folk-music and folk-dance Burma is a marvellous country. Pure native dance and music are in full swing here and they cater for tens of thousands, zigzagging deep into the heart of remote villages. After having mastered the different idioms of our Indian music you may as well study the Burmese. It may not be an evolved art, but its capacity of delighting the illiterate poor has, somehow, appealed to me. I am told that their dance, too, is very beautiful. Furthermore, its art is not confined to select coteries, because, I imagine, there is no caste system in Burma (As a result art here has infiltrated everywhere). And probably also because folk-music and folk-dance have always had a tremendous vogue in this country. So the common folk have won to a deeper understanding of beauty than the Indian.

I echo all you write about Deshbandhu as also your

* *Jatra*=folk-dramas played in the open under a pandal where there is no stage set, the audience and the actors occupying the same level area. *Kirtan*=devotional dramatic music where Krishna and Radha figure in the main. *Kathakata*=mythological sagas or legends recited by pundits, alternated with songs.

remark that the innate nobility of a man is revealed more through little private incidents of his life than through his public activities or political achievements caught up in the lime-light. In fact I gave him my heart's deep adhesion and reverent love not so much because I happened to be his follower in the arena of politics, as because I had come to know him rather intimately in his private life. He had no family, properly speaking, outside that of his colleagues and adherents. Once we lived together in jail for eight months : for two months in the same cell, for six in adjacent ones. I took refuge at his feet because I came to know him thus through a very close relationship.

I subscribe to most of what you write about Sri Aurobindo, if not to all. He is a *dhyani* (a contemplative) and, I feel, goes even deeper than Vivekananda, though I have a profound reverence for the latter. So I agree with you when you say that one may from time to time—and, on occasion, for a long spell—remain withdrawn in silent contemplation in perfect seclusion. But here there is a danger ; the active side of a man might get atrophied if he remained cut off for too long from the tides of life and society. This need not, indeed, apply to a handful of authentic seekers of uncommon genius, but the common run, the majority, ought, I think, to take to action in a spirit of service as the main plank of their *sadhana*. For a variety of reasons our nation has been sliding pauselessly down to the zero line in the sphere of action ; so what we badly need today is a double dose of the activist serum, *rajas*.

I say ditto to you again when you say that each of us must strive to develop his powers to their fulness. Real service is only achieved when we dedicate what is the best in our composition. Not till our inner being, our *swadharma*, has fulfilled itself, shall we have won through to our inalienable right, *adhikar*, to what I call real service. To put it in the language of Emerson, we must be moulded from within. This does not mean that we all have to tread the same path, though it is possible that the same ideal may inspire us all. The artist's *sadhana* is not the same as the

activist's, no more than the contemplative's *sadhana* is the same as the savant's, though I think, in the last analysis, the ideals of all are one. But in the practical field of self-realisation I wouldn't put a round peg in a square hole. One who was true to oneself could hardly be false to humanity. The nature of each must indicate the clue to the path that is his, the path that leads to his self-amelioration and self-expansion. If each of us could fulfil himself following his native capacity and temperament, then a new sunrise would outbreak over the entire life of the nation. It is, indeed, possible that a man may have to lead, during a particular phase of his *sadhana**, a life which looks on the surface like selfishness or ego-centricism. But while he is passing through that phase he must follow the dictates of his own conscience—not those of public opinion. The public shall not judge till the results of the *sadhana* are published. Consequently, once you choose to tread the true path of self-unfoldment you may well ignore public opinion. So you see we are much less at variance with each other than you seem to think.

Yours ever affectionately

SUBHAS

#3. From Dilip Kumar Roy

Lucknow

21.11.25

My dear Subhash,

Many thanks—the most grateful ones—for your last long letter dated 9.10.25. You can hardly form an adequate conception of the inspiration your letters afford me—not to speak of your personality. (Please excuse me if my nature lends itself at times to be a little “lavish” as you say when expressing the sincere gratitude it feels towards those from whom it has derived the most abiding benefits. You know the

* *Sadhana* = originally, spiritual discipline, askesis ; nowadays it has come to mean any disciplined endeavour for a high ideal.

Sanskrit saying স্বভাবো শর্তিচ্ছতে, i.e. one can hardly rise superior to one's nature. So your apology as to its having spun out to a great length was worse than superfluous. For you of all persons should have known better.

I agree in substance with your remarks about the need of bringing art within the reach of the poor and the lowly. I have often thought that we, the so-called aristocrats, very often run the risk of persuading ourselves that art must always needs be the handmaiden of the fortunately placed few. In so doing we often forget that the art which tends always to restrict its appeal to the privileged few tends thereby to be overtaken by anemia in the long run—a tendency against which Tolstoy's diatribes and unsparing ridicules have become so famous. The other day I was reading a fine essay entitled "Essay on Christianity and art" by an art-critic of England. He also wrote something to the same effect. "Art cannot greatly flourish unless it is rooted in the life of the people and stimulated by a general demand. A few men of genius will struggle to the top, but art in general will decline, when it becomes the plaything of a small class."

Agreed. And you will also agree I am sure. (You have in fact said something very much akin in your last letter). But it seems to me that the problem is not quite so simple as such generalisations tend to make it appear. We will discuss this point sometime at greater length but let me only adumbrate a few of the main objections that beset me nowadays.

The appeal of art—the highest art—is in the first place by no means universal nor even general. That is why sham and counterfeit in art is so much more prevalent in every civilized society. A friend of mine—Ronald Miron of this University—remarked to me once how positively he felt repelled by what so often passes for dramatic or literary art in Europe which a very large number of men possibly love to roll in. He said that while on the one hand the cheap and vulgar titillations of the so-called art of modern Europe appeal so generally to the multitude, causing him positive pain—good art on the other hand which positively exalts

him hardly ever finds a response in these people's hearts. The same sort of experience must have fallen to the lot of most of us. You will say: "But educate the tastes—of the masses, my friend." But then the difficulty lies in this, is that education so easy after all—when we see that in the most democratic countries of the world the state of affairs is today so bad? Nevertheless I am inclined to believe that matters are bound to mend and tend on the balance to improve—but then when all is said and done, is this not a question of temperament? I do not mean that this view can (not) be open to controversy—which view in the world of ours is not?—I only mean thereby the most serious nature of the questionings that even the stoutest optimist must needs meet with sometime or other in his life when he is hard put to it to explain the ever widening gulf (it often seems) between what to him should be and what is. Everywhere you see good art at a discount, and Mat Gould, Rider Haggard, Panchkori De, Paul de Lock and such other catch-penny drivel reigning rampant and ever on the increase. A great pessimist has defined civilization to be a continuous change in human society each step of which means an additional increase in the sum total of human unhappiness.

I was not long ago deeply distressed by such antinomies of life, when Aurobindo's works came to my hands. In his wonderful book called "The Life Divine" I found a sort of balm which healed my searching and tormented spirit. He (to me) proved to the hilt that the sum total of human happiness has ever been on the increase, though the history of any particular geographical spot on earth may lend colour to a contrary conclusion. However let me not dwell on this rather big question in my present letter. I only wanted to tell you how my doubts as to the highest art being immediately popularized have not yet been solved. There is the great question of receptivity to reckon with—the great stumbling-block of what we are used to look upon as idealism.

Aurobindo told me last year how he too was beset by the same problem once. I quote him now almost verbatim: "When I went in for Yoga," he said to me in Pondicherry,

"I took it up with a view to changing thereby the whole nature of humanity, to transform the face of the world, to eradicate evils wholesale. But I found out later on, to my disillusionment, that this I had deemed possible owing to my sheer ignorance at that time. What you can do in this connection is that after having realised something you can impart it partially to others who are receptive. But then this transmission is not always so easy even when the realisation has been achieved. One can communicate along with receiving only when one has got a special power. For some can only receive and not communicate. It is only a few who are capable of both. Then again everybody cannot receive. So the problem is not easy to solve. What can you do? I have realised since that men are at different stages of evolution and development, so much so that any universal panacea to the world's evils is an impossibility as has been shown again and again in the course of history. . . ."

Much as I would like to have it otherwise I find Aurobindo's arguments irrefutable. In art I have found this to be particularly true. I have found times out of number that the music which gives the most divine sort of ecstasy to a few choice spirits sounds very often bald and even meaningless to most others. This sad fact in the hard world of reality once hurt my idealism and optimistic outlook on life not a little. But I think that it has nevertheless fortified my courage all the more, by enabling me to be shorn of my sentimental vision-doting habit which would rather elude the reality rather than suffer disillusionment. I feel now more fortified than ever by saying like কৰ্মণ্যেবাধিকারস্তে মা ফলেষু কদাচন (we have right only to works not the fruits thereof) or

যৎ কৰোষি যদশ্নাসি যজ্জুহোষি দদাসি যৎ।

যত্তপস্যসি কোন্তেয় তৎকুরুষ্ব মদপৰ্ণম॥

I feel I realise the greatness of such wonderful dictums infinitely better now thanks to my recent disillusionments born of the clash between the world of ideals and world of fact.

I am glad that we agree on the other points (not that

we do not agree on the last point—for I feel we do, only you have not qualified your generalisation in the way I have been forced of late to do).

Your vision I certainly never called a narrow one. You can never be narrow even if you tried to. Your *adhara* will be against you even if you wanted to become a narrow patriot or a common demagogue for the so-called good of our country. I do not flatter you when I say this, for I come to feel more and more that it is really not we who are our own masters—even though I do not disbelieve in free-will altogether. But about this we will perhaps discuss some day when you come back to our loving welcome. You wrote to me once beautifully how you were coming more and more to a sort of sense of the presence of some Higher Power and Higher Motion underlying even our most chequered and anomalous activities.

I have completed my Rajputana tour at long last. You will be glad to learn that I have been received everywhere by the people with an ardour and sincerity I could hardly have believed possible a few years ago. All this brilliant reception has however made me recall the remark of the Yogi I referred to who had advised me to continually remind myself that it all happens in the way it does only because it has been so ordained by some Higher Purpose—(curiously reminiscent of your aforesaid remark). I feel this warning has stood me in good stead on many occasions when I should otherwise have slid down unawares into vanity or egoism. The example of your humility has also been very helpful to me on this score.

I am wondering if I should send this letter to you immediately. For I am told you are going soon to be removed to Calcutta to be interned somewhere. So I think I will wait a few days.

Why do you not write anything about your health? I wonder if you have come across your letter published in *Bangabani* about a month ago—I mean the letter you wrote to Sarat Babu. It has touched me and many others to the core. It is tragic to feel we can be of so little help to you now in your hours of profound mental gloom. Mere

epistolary expression of sympathy must, I fear, be a poor substitute just now.

Accept my heartfelt love.

Yours affectionately
DILIP

28.12.25

P.S.

My dear Subhash,

I waited long enough. But you have not been released yet. So I send this letter to you.

I had a good many things to add, but let the 12 pages suffice for the present.

I am organizing another charity-performance at the Institute on the 5th proximo and trust it will be successful as usual, Govt. willing. You may have already heard about it all from Anil Babu.

I could not resist the temptation of sending your letters to Rabindranath who wrote back to me a letter extending over four pages in appreciation of your letter. He has written a very nice letter to me indeed, which I will show you someday.

With sincerest love,

Yours affly as ever
DILIP

84. To Mr. Penfold

Mandalay Central Jail
2.10.25

I am sending herewith a petition on behalf of Bejoy Krishna Ghosh, prisoner from Bengal. Please send the petition along with the summons to the court in question.

Please remit by M/O the sum of Rs 17/- to the court in question, mentioning the number of the suit in connection with which the money is sent as also the name of the prisoner. The sum of Rs. 17/- and the M/O commission are

to be drawn from the amount I have to my credit in the office. I have already obtained the sanction of the superintendent to the above.

S. C. BOSE

85. Letter to the Chief Jailer

Mandalay Jail
5.10.25

Chief Jailer,

I thought you knew that a defendant in a case pending in court is at liberty to make any statement in writing for the court. If therefore you tamper with the writer's statement, you will do so at your own risk. Written statements are confidential. Court documents are not meant for publication.

I sent the papers concerning Bejoy Ghose to the office on the 2nd instant. Today is the 5th October, but the papers have not been despatched yet. I have in the meantime sent 3 reminders (2 in writing, one verbally) to the Jailer in charge. If the papers and money do not reach the court in time and in consequence there is an Exparte decree—who will pay the necessary damages?

S. C. BOSE

86. From Sarat Chandra Bose

Giddapahar,
Kurseong, 6.10.25

My dear Subhas,

We arrived here on the 1st. Father has gone back to Cuttack. His courts opened yesterday. Mother is staying in Calcutta, as Dolly is expected and negotiations are being carried on for Aruna's marriage.

I went to Dacca to oppose an application for Receiver. Mr B. C. Mitter and Sudhir Roy were on the other side. I am glad to tell you that I have succeeded. I don't know if the clients will take me again at the time of the hearing of the case. But that's a long way off.

I went to Tiger Hill day before yesterday to see the sunrise. It was glorious ! I started from Kurseong by motor at 2.30 a.m. and reached Ghoom at about 4 a.m. From Ghoom I went on horseback. The Governor also came to see the sunrise. I had never seen him before. I didn't know that he was such a sorry looking specimen of humanity. No wonder his acts and conduct have been so foolish !

Yes, we went to Kodalia during the Puja week. Our dispensary has been started and I hear that the doctor appointed by us has made a good impression. If medical relief work is successful, it will go a long way towards our village reorganisation.

Dada and *Bowdidi* will spend the rest of the holidays at Cuttack, Puri and Bhubaneswar. *Namamababu* is in Calcutta. He has taken a house at Baghbazar. *Natunmama-babu* is keeping very poor health. He has taken a house at Shambazar.

Yes, *Baramamababu* has proved to be an energetic Secretary of his Ward Health Association.

Kanchi is staying at 38/2. His surgery is in an upper flat on Wellesley Street—almost near the Dhurumtallah crossing. You might be able to picture to yourself the house. It is the 2 storeyed house formerly occupied by Ritz Boarding or Ritz Hotel.

I hope you have received the sum of Rs. 200/- I sent you by T.M.O. Your Chief Jailor received it on the 22nd Sept. as appears from the T.M.O. acknowledgement.

With our loving Bijoya asis (blessings) and good wishes,

Yours very affly

SARAT

(Sarat Chandra Bose)

87. From Sarat Chandra Bose

Giddapahar,
Kurseong, 8.10.25

My dear Subhas,

Your letter of the 25th Sept. came in yesterday.

Kodalia people are taking interest in our scheme for

village reorganisation. Babus Kali Charan Ghosh and Manindra N. Ghosh are members of the Committee which has been formed. Kali Charan is a most earnest worker and I have got from him all the information I needed. We haven't yet taken in hand the schools but shall do so as soon as our scheme for medical relief is in full operation. Along with my last letter from Calcutta, I enclosed a newspaper cutting which gives you some information regarding the work that has been started.

We were very happy to learn that you performed the Durga Puja there. Who officiated as priest ?

We have sent you a parcel of 9 *dhuties* and 9 *chaddars* for you and your fellow exiles at Mandalay. I trust the parcel reached you on or before the Bijoya day.

Your *Mejobowdidi* did not expect you back so soon though the air was thick with rumours about your coming back.

I am sorry that uptill now Jamini Kaviraj has been more successful than Shyamadas. I tried to help the latter and was successful to some extent ; but things went against him if I was absent on any occasion. I still hope however, that we shall push through Deshbandhu's scheme for establishing a good Ayurvedic College.

I shall be here uptill the 6th or 7th Nov. I shall go down just for a day this month to be present at the celebration of the 2nd anniversary of *Forward*.

I wrote to Gladding on the 18th of last month for permission to send the *Forward* to you but haven't received any reply yet.

Hope you are all in good health. This leaves us well.

Please let us know what clothes you want for the approaching winter.

Yours very affly

SARAT

Subhas C. Bose Esq.

88. *From Sarat Chandra Bose*

*Giddapahar,
Kurseong, 9.10.25*

Recd.

20/10/25

Replied

23/10/25

S.C.B.

My dear Subhas,

Here is the cutting I referred to in my last letter.

The doctor started work actually on the 1st of this month. *Sejojethamahasaya* and father went down to Kodalia on that day and father has written to me to say that the doctor made a good impression. I hope the doctor's enthusiasm will not grow cold.

Nothing further to write today. Hope you are well.

Yours very affly
SARAT

Subhas C. Bose Esq.

Enclosure : Newspaper Cutting

VILLAGE REORGANISATION

*Centre at Kodalia,
24-Pergannas*

Village reorganisation work was initiated at the house of Srijut Janaki Nath Bose, Kodalia, on the Mahastami day (25th Sept.) with a lecture by Srijut Jnananjan Niyogi on "Ma O Desh". Srijut Jnananjan spoke for about two hours and a half and his lecture which was illustrated by lantern slides made a great impression. Among those present were Srijuts Uma Charan Ghosh, Janakinath Bose (President, Village Reorganisation Committee), Surendra Nath Sil (Secretary and Treasurer of the Committee), Kali Charan

Ghosh (Assistant Secretary), Tara Prasanna Bose (Assistant Treasurer), Amulya Kumar Nundy, Bankim Chandra Rai-Choudhury, Manindra Nath Ghosh, Dr. Kashi Nath Chatterji (Medical Officer appointed by the Committee), B. N. Dutt (of *Forward*), H. C. Sinha (of *Forward*), Priya Nath Bose, Satish Chandra Bose, Sarat Chandra Bose and others. There were altogether about 500 gentlemen and about 200 ladies present. Certain members of the police force were also present in plain clothes.

On the Dashami day, a dispensary was opened at the house of Srijut Janakinath Bose. The dispensary has been named after Srijut Janakinath Bose's mother, the late Kamini Dasi. Srijut Uma Charan Ghosh—one of the oldest residents of Kodalia—presided over the opening ceremony. The Secretary and Treasurer of the Village Reorganisation Committee delivered a short speech explaining the objects of the Committee and the purposes for which the dispensary was being opened. He was followed by the President who explained shortly what amount of co-operation was expected from the residents of Kodalia and the four adjoining villages Harinavi, Malancha, Mahinagar and Chingripotta.

The medicines and instruments for the dispensary have been supplied by Messrs. Butto Kristo Paul & Co. at cost price.

Dr. Kashinath Chatterji will commence work on the 1st October, 1925.

It is expected that this centre will shortly become a model centre for other villages to emulate.

89. *To The Chief Secretary
to the Govt. of Burma.*

*Mandalay Jail
14.10.25*

Dear Sir,

Some time ago we sent a representation to you regarding the question of allowance for our clothing. Since then we have not had any reply from you on the subject. As winter is drawing near, it is necessary that we should be provided with adequate warm clothing without any further

delay. An allowance of Rs 225/- for bedding and clothing for the whole year is too inadequate a sum for this purpose. It is not therefore possible for us to purchase the necessary warm clothing as long as we are not informed that the clothing allowance has been enhanced. An early communication from you on the subject will therefore really oblige.

Yours faithfully

S. C. BOSE and S. C. MITRA
(On behalf of the State Prisoners)

90. *To The Superintendent
Mandalay Jail*

14.10.25

Dear Sir,

I shall be obliged if you could procure for me on loan from the Inspector General of Prisons, Burma or from elsewhere—a copy of the Jail Administrative Report of Bengal for the year 1924 and a copy of the report of the Jail Commission.

Yours faithfully

S. C. BOSE

91. *To The Post-master General,
Bihar and Orissa.*

Mandalay Jail

14.10.25

Dear Sir,

I am sending herewith the cover of a letter the post marks on which will speak for themselves. The letter was written at Puri and posted there as the post marks will bear out. The letter being addressed to Calcutta it is not clear how it comes to bear the post mark at Cuttack. Evidently the letter was stopped at Cuttack with the result that there was delay in my receiving it. I shall be obliged if the above irregularity is enquired into.

Yours faithfully

S. C. BOSE

92. *To The Hon'ble member in Charge
of the Political Dept. Govt. of Bengal.*

Mandalay Jail

14.10.25

Dear Sir,

On the 20th August 1925 I wrote a letter to Mr. N. C. Kelkar, M.L.A. which was withheld by the D.I.G. of Police, I.B. Bengal on the ground that it contained a criticism of the action of Govt. Thereupon I wrote to the D.I.G. requesting him to return the letter to me so that I might delete any passage that would appear objectionable to me on a closer examination. In reply I was informed that letters withheld by the I.B. C.I.D. were not returned to the writers and it was further stated that it had already been indicated wherein my letter to Mr. Kelkar was considered objectionable. In this connection I would make the following representation to you :—

1. The letter in question did not contain any objectionable passages as far as I am aware and I would request you to give your opinion on the matter after perusal.

2. This not being the first time that my letters have been withheld, I would request you that for the benefit of state prisoners and detenus the Political Dept. will be so good as to define what the word "objectionable" really connotes. I have not been informed where my letter to Mr. Kelkar was considered objectionable beyond the statement that it contained a criticism of the actions of Government. Criticism of the action of Govt. is a very vague expression and if it is given a wide significance, letter writing can be rendered impossible. If, for instance, a State Prisoner or detenu writes that his health has been suffering or that the climate of a particular place does not suit him—it can be construed as a criticism of the action of Govt. in confining him in that particular place.

3. I do not know why letters withheld are not returned to the writers concerned specifically when a request is made to that effect. The owner of a letter written by a state prisoner or a detenu, is not the Govt. and I am not aware

that under the law the Censor can forfeit or confiscate letters as long as they are not seditious.

I therefore request that Govt. will be so good as to pass an order to the effect that when letters are withheld they should be returned to the writers concerned.

I am

Yours faithfully,
S. C. BOSE

93. *To Santosh Kumar Basu*

Mandalay,
16.10.25

C/o D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D. Bengal,
13 Elysium Row
Calcutta.

My dear Santosh Babu,

I have not written to you after you stopped writing and I would not have written this but for a pressing and urgent reason. Even this I do not write without some hesitation.

You are no doubt aware of all the developments in the Ayurveda Amalgamation Committee. When the question of paying a grant to the Vaidyasastrapith of Shyamadas Bachaspati first arose, counter proposal was made by some member (I think Babu Nripendra Nath Basu) for amalgamating the Colleges and appointing a committee for the purpose. It was really Kaviraj Jamini Bhusan Roy who was pulling the strings from behind and his tools were Nripen Babu, Jogesh Babu, Ramaprasad and others. Jamini Kaviraj hoped that if the three Colleges were amalgamated, he would virtually become the top-dog there. It must be said to his credit that he has personally canvassed almost every member of the Corporation and has adopted every contrivance in bringing influence and pressure to bear on the Councillors. He approached me through father whom he knew before. You

The question here is who should have the role of importance in this case? Against Jamini Kaviraj my objection is three-fold. Firstly his knowledge of Ayurveda is meagre. It is not men of such shallow learning who will succeed in reviving the ancient Ayurveda system. I even have doubts as to whether he has a real and sincere faith in Ayurveda. Secondly he is not straightforward as a medical practitioner and that surely is an index of his character. A senior practitioner who still depends for his practice largely on touts is hardly a reliable man. He himself is "a queer amalgam" of Ayurveda and Allopathy in his practice. Thirdly, he is unscrupulous—I may say thoroughly unscrupulous—in the tactics he adopts. He has a clique of his own—the Ashtanga Ayurveda group—who want to bring the new College into being and then boss it. They will thereby score a three-fold gain. (1) They will establish a College mainly at the expense of the Corporation and without much trouble; (2) They will be able to boss the institution—increase their prestige and reputation thereby and as practitioners earn more money; (3) By securing the patronage—the whole-hearted patronage—of the Corporation, they will crush the other institutions, if they do not amalgamate and thereby submit to the bossing of Jamini and Co. It is clear that if the Corporation starts a new institution, it will have to withdraw all patronage from all other similar institutions and the latter will thereby be hit very badly.

The proposal for amalgamation has really emanated from Jamini and Co., who want to crush all other institutions and establish their power and supremacy in the new College. And these are the people who refused to respond to the call of Deshbandhu at the beginning of the Non-co-operation movement!

The Vaidyasastrapith was founded by Deshbandhu and I believe that as a piece of construction work it has great value and potentiality. The principal of the College is one

School who is also responsive to new ideas—and is a man of spotless character and unostentatious piety. I cannot conceive of a better teacher for the Kavirajas of the future. But he is not up to date in the art of canvassing and sycophancy and that is why today Jamini and Co. seem to be so much in favour.

Shyamadas Kaviraj has uptill now maintained the College mainly out of his own money and unless the public or the Corporation come to his aid, it will be difficult for him to continue the work. Naturally he cannot agree to an amalgamation, the object and result of which will be to heighten the power and supremacy of Jamini and Co. And it is perfectly clear now that Jamini and Co. will not agree to amalgamation if they do not have a controlling voice in the new institution.

Those of us who followed Deshbandhu are now pledged to continue his work and to maintain the institutions he founded. Are our Councillors conscious of this responsibility?

If it be not possible to bring about an amalgamation on honourable terms it would be better to continue the grants to the three colleges separately till reason and fairness ultimately prevail.

Jamini Kaviraj has been making a parade of his donation of Rs. 50,000/- for the new College. Shyamadas Kaviraj has already spent a large sum maintaining the Vaidyasasthapith out of his money and if money is to be an important factor, I do not think that Shyamadas will be wanting in liberality either.

If you have any doubt regarding anything I have said, you may pay a visit to the Vaidyasasthapith. If you phone Shyamadas Kaviraj, he will gladly show you round. Though Shyamadas is himself a Kaviraj of the old School, he has introduced Physics, Chemistry, Physiology etc. into the curriculum of the Vaidyasasthapith.

I know that you are earnest in everything you undertake and that you do not rest until you see the matter through. Kaviraj Shyamadas's letters containing the latest news pained me very much and I thought that if you took

the matter up something beneficial might result.

Hope this will find you quite well. I am so so. With heartiest *Bijoya* greetings and embraces.

I am

Yours affly

SUBHAS C. BOSE

P.S.

You may speak to Braja Babu about the matter—he is the Chairman of the Public Health Com :

Please excuse any strong expressions I may have used in the body of the letter.

S. C. B.

94. From Sarat Chandra Bose

Giddapahar

Kurseong, 18.10.25

My dear Subhas,

Your letter of the 2nd was to hand on the 16th.

I have sent the invoices to Ramiah. I have also written to him setting out the relevant extracts from your letter.

I have also written to S. J. Kiran Sankar Roy requesting him to file a claim on your behalf if your name is not on the Electoral roll of the Council of State and have forwarded the signed blank sheets to him for that purpose.

Sunil's London address is—86 South Hill Park, Hamstead, London, N.W. 3.

I am going down to Calcutta on the 24th to attend the 2nd anniversary celebration of *Forward*. I shall remit to you Rs. 100/- from Calcutta. I shall be returning to Kurseong on the 26th.

Have I told you that Govt. has refused to allow *Forward* to be sent to you?

This leaves us well. Hope you are keeping well. With love and good wishes,

Yours very affly

SARAT

95. *To The Deputy Commissioner,
Mandalay*

*Mandalay Jail
5.11.25*

Dear Sir,

We shall be obliged if you could pay us a visit as early as possible. We are having certain difficulties with the Acting Superintendent of the Jail which may lead to unpleasant consequences. If you would smoothen matters, your mediation would be welcome.

Yours faithfully,
S. C. BOSE
(On behalf of the State
Prisoners and detenus)

96. *To The Chief Jailer*

*Mandalay
10-30 a.m.
9.11.25*

Dear Sir,

I have been noticing for some time past that incoming letters have been detained in this office for 2 or 3 days. Even this morning we got the letters which arrived on Saturday and which should have been handed over to us on that day. Will you kindly tell me why there is this unnecessary delay in sending letters from the office to this yard? If we had got them on Saturday, we could have replied to them by today's mail whereas we shall now have to wait till next Sunday in order to reply to them?

A telegram despatched by the C.I.D. of Calcutta arrived here on Saturday, the 7th, but it is just being handed over to me. May I ask you what is the use of sending a wire from Calcutta if it is held up for two days unnecessarily? If this telegram does not reach Calcutta in time for publication I shall kick up a row.

Yours faithfully
S. C. BOSE

97. *To The Chief Jailer*

*Mandalay Jail
11.11.25*

Dear Sir,

Please let me have a reply to my note regarding the delay in the delivery of letters and telegrams. We consider this to be a very serious matter. You know that some time ago there was a trouble over the same question and the question was satisfactorily settled by the Superintendent. I do not know why you are again creating this trouble.

Yours faithfully
S. C. BOSE

98. *To The Superintendent,
Mandalay Jail.*

*Mandalay Jail
11.11.25*

Urgent

Dear Sir,

I hope you are aware by this time that for the last two or three weeks our letters are being delayed every mail by 2 days. All of us are entitled to get our letters as soon as they arrive. Each of us has his own private worries and business affairs, in addition. Besides, Mr. Mitra and I are candidates for the Council of State Election and in this connection, have to carry on regular correspondence every week with our election agents, supporters and Returning officers. Owing to the delay in receiving the letters we cannot catch the corresponding outgoing mail and we are thereby put to considerable inconvenience. I am even inclined to think that this delay amounts to interference with our candidature for the Council of State.

As far as I am aware, everything in connection with the State Prisoners is not only regarded as confidential but is marked as such. If the letters come in an envelope marked 'confidential', that does not preclude the Jail staff

from making an arrangement whereby we may get the letters the same morning. I hope you will look into the matter without delay.

Yours faithfully
S. C. BOSE

99. *To The Inspector General of Prisons,
Burma through the Superintendent,
Mandalay Jail*

Mandalay Jail
13.11.25

Dear Sir,

Regarding the question of winter clothing I beg to inform you that I have been supplied uptill now with the following articles :

- | | | |
|--------------------|----|--|
| 1. Rug | —1 | |
| 2. Woollen Wrapper | —1 | |
| 3. Sporting Coat | —1 | With the tailor |
| 4. Overcoat | —1 | |
| 5. Flannel Shirts | —2 | (these are misfits and are of no use to me.) |

- | | |
|------------|---------|
| 6. Cap | |
| 7. Hose | —1 pair |
| 8. Muffler | |

My requirements for the coming winter are as follows :—

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Two complete suits/coat,
waist coat, trouser. | |
| 2. Woollen undervest | —2 |
| 3. Woollen hose | —2 |
| 4. Flannel Shirts | —2 |
| 5. Sweater | —1 |
| 6. Rug | —1 |
| 7. Quilt | —1 (or extra rug and 2 quilt covers.) |
| 8. Hat | |
| 9. Collars | |
| 10. Ties | |

- | | |
|-------------------|---------|
| 11. Pyjama suits | —2 |
| 12. Gloves | —1 pair |
| 13. Woollen socks | —1 pair |

In this connection I would like to bring to your notice that I am in a weak state of health. I have already lost 16 lbs in weight since my arrival here and I am still losing weight.

Yours faithfully
S. C. BOSE

100. *To Mr. S. Sheppard*

Mandalay Jail
19.22.25

Dear Mr. Sheppard,

I shall be much obliged if you accept a small present of vegetables and Indian sweets sent from home.

Yours sincerely
S. C. BOSE

Mr. S. Sheppard, I.M.S.
Superintendent,
Mandalay Jail

101. *From Sarat Chandra Bose*

38/1, Elgin Road
26.XI.25

My dear Subhas,

I have received quite a number of letters from you but I am sorry have not been able to reply to any of them.

You have got all news of this side from *Rangamama-babu*. There is nothing further to add. I shall reply to the points mentioned in your letters in detail on Saturday next.

I do not think it will be necessary to set you up as a candidate for the Council of State. People here think that Babu Lokenath Mukherji and Babu Nalininath Sett are quite good for Liberal candidates. I shall however submit your nomination papers if there is any risk of any of the other name being scratched due to any irregularity in the

nomination papers submitted by the other candidates.

This leaves us well. *Rangamamababu* has seen *Kaviraj Mahasaya* about your treatment and will write you in detail. Hope you are better.

Yours very affly
SARAT

Subhas Chandra Bose Esq.

102. *To The Superintendent,
Mandalay Jail.*

Mandalay Jail
30.11.25

Dear Sir,

It has become very cold here and we have not yet got sufficient warm clothing. Certain items like warm under-wears, rugs, quilts, gloves etc. should be procured without delay. I do not know if you would be willing to sanction any expenditure in anticipation of formal sanction of Govt. or if you would feel inclined to sanction any expenditure on medical grounds. In any case you may send a wire to the Inspector General of Prisons or to the local Govt. requesting an early decision regarding the question of warm clothing. We hope you will take early action in the matter.

Yours faithfully,
S. C. BOSE
(On behalf of State
Prisoners and detenus)

103. *To Mr. Penfold*

Mandalay Jail
30.11.25

Mr. Penfold,

This letter to the Superintendent is about warm clothing. Please put it up before him today without fail.

S. C. BOSE

104. *To Santosh Kumar Basu*

Mandalay
4.12.25

My dear Mr. Basu,

It is a treat to read your letters and I enjoy replying to them. I cannot tell you how glad I am to hear from you once more. I have been following your activities in the Corporation as far as possible under present conditions. There has been a distinct falling off in the number of complaints appearing in the papers in connection with the New Market. The construction of the lethal chamber will, I hope, put a final stop to the pariah dog nuisance.

The anniversary issue of the Gazette has been quite a success and please convey my congratulations to the Editor on his achievement. He wanted a message from me but, I sent some suggestions in addition. I felt that they were somewhat out of place but I sent them all the same as I was anxious to avail myself of the opportunity of communicating my suggestions. I was not sure at the time that I would be able in the near future to convey my ideas regarding the Gazette to the Editor and that is my only justification.

There are certain important matters which I would like to bring to your notice with the hope that you will take them up with your characteristic energy and enthusiasm. I have written to some members already but apparently to no avail.

The street lighting contract with the Gas Coy. expires in 1931. The new contract will have to be settled 5 years before the date of expiry (i.e. in 1926) in order to enable the new party to get ready by 1931. Four alternatives lie before us :—

(1) To municipalize the department and continue gas.

(2) To municipalize the department but substitute electricity for gas.

(3) To contract with a new party for lighting the streets with electricity.

(4) To renew the contract with the Gas Coy.

As you may guess, I am in favour of municipalization. The premier corporations in the world run their own street lighting plant and why shouldn't we? If we continue gas, we may be able to utilize all the by-products for industrial purpose either by selling them to private parties or by starting municipal industries. We may, for example, manufacture our own disinfectants instead of purchasing phenyle or Phenocol. We may buy off the entire plant of the Gas Coy. and simply substitute our own management. I don't see any reason why it should not be a paying concern.

Whether under municipalization we should substitute electricity for gas is a question which requires deeper consideration. The solution will depend entirely on financial considerations. Before my arrest I had asked the Lighting Supdt. to prepare a comparative statement regarding the cost of equipping and running electric and gas plant. I do not know if he has made any progress with the work. On the whole he seemed to be in favour of electricity. You know that we pay annually several lacs of rupees to the Electric Supply Corporation for consuming electricity in our pumping stations and lighting some streets. If we have our own plant for supplying electricity we may run all the pumping stations with our own power and we shall be making a saving thereby. All these considerations will have to be carefully weighed before a final decision is arrived at. This controversy will take at least 6 months, if not a year—it is therefore necessary to introduce the subject at home.

I have been thinking for some time past of the idea of installing a cold storage plant in the municipal market. This would make it possible to preserve meat, fish and fruits which are not readily sold. A certain quantity of food rots every day in the market and the loss has to be made up by raising the prices in general. If it is possible to prevent this with the aid of a cold storage plant—the food-supply will be increased and prices will tend to fall. This question might be brought before the Markets Committee.

There is a Food Preservation Department in England and a friend of mine (Mr. P. Parija, Professor of Botany,

Ravenshaw College, Cuttack) at Cambridge worked as a paid research scholar in this department. He worked for about a year with apples and the possibility of preserving them. I was reading an article in the *London Times* a few days ago which said that the experiments with apple preservation had not succeeded. You may write to Mr. Parija either personally or through the Secretary asking him to acquaint you with the up-to-date researches in this domain and their practical application. You may also communicate with the Ministry of Health in England or the London County Council asking for information regarding this question. Successful food preservation is bound to increase supply and lower prices—and it is therefore necessary for us to be acquainted with the progress made in other countries.

In the matter of introducing compulsory primary education, Bombay, Delhi and Chittagong have stolen a march over us. What a shame! I wrote to the Deputy Mayor about 3 months ago about this problem but I do not think he has stirred his little finger yet. My idea was to start compulsory primary education in selected areas in 1926—so that before the present corporation goes out they will have a year's experience of compulsory primary education. Under the Act we do not possess the power to enforce education and special powers will have to be vested in the Corporation. I am told that in the last Council a resolution was passed at the instance of Babu Surendra Nath Ray empowering the Local Govt. to invest a local body by notification with special power for making primary education compulsory. I do not know if this is true but I noticed in the papers that this procedure took place in the case of the Chittagong Municipality. If this be true we can get the sanction of the Local Govt. in no time. Otherwise an amendment of the Calcutta Municipal Act will be necessary and that will take time. I did not mention municipal banking in the list of suggestions I sent but I am glad that Mr. Ramaswami has referred to it. There are ideas which require a good deal of cogitation, reflection and discussion before they can mature and whoever introduces a healthy discussion on any municipal topic does the Corporation and the

ratepayers a service. Moreover, it is necessary to know the latest advances made in Municipal Govt. in other countries.

Regarding the Vidyadhari, why don't you get a River-engineer from abroad (Holland or Germany or America) to study the Vidyadhari and its locality and predict its future. The expenditure may be borne by the Corpn. but it will be a useful investment. I am sorry that members are anxious to wash their hands off the Vidyadhari problem and do not want to be responsible for the solution of the problem. This argues lack of courage. They should instead take courage in both hands and grapple with the problem as best as they can.

The origin, growth and decay of rivers is a science by itself and several engineers abroad have specialized in this domain. Experiments are made with model miniature rivers to find out their possible future courses under actual conditions. A river-engineer anxious to study the Vidyadhari will examine the local soil and start experimenting with his models. Until you are able to predict (or theorise about) the future of the Vidyadhari area, you cannot settle the future drainage scheme of Calcutta. Mr. Wilkinson or any drainage-engineer may be able to cope with the second problem but only a river-engineer can tackle the first problem. The Vidyadhari Committee has so far touched the fringe of the first problem.

You may write to Dr. Bentley unofficially asking him to make enquiries about prominent river-engineers in Europe and America. The assistance of the Institute of Civil Engineers in England may also be sought by the Corporation for securing information regarding prominent river-engineers. I shall be glad if you would take up this problem as well.

I am interested to read about the work of the Markets Committee. I earnestly hope that the frail Manshatala boat will weather all the storms that may threaten it in future. I shall write to *Mejdada* now and again when I can suggest anything useful. I hope you will give my suggestions some consideration.

Has the Workshop Com. submitted any report? What

is the present condition of the Motor Vehicles Dept.? Is it going to be reorganized in the near future? I find that the locomotives of the Municipal Railway are in a bad way and that you have to seek the assistance of the E. B. Ry. In the next budget you ought to provide some money for new street-sweeping machines. The added areas want more watering cars also. We have to experiment with new machines before we can finally decide about our future. There was an enquiry into the condition of the roads. Has it matured? I believe you will have to centralize the roads department under a road-engineer trained in the up-to-date methods of road construction in Europe. We have no competent road-engineer in the corporation. Road construction has progressed so rapidly abroad that we have fallen far behind. It would be advisable to select a competent man and send him abroad for training. Our road department is too ante-diluvian to stand the strain of more requirements especially when the area of Calcutta has been considerably enlarged. I anticipate another serious breakdown next year in road work and the rate-payers will then be at your throats. The whole Engineering Dept. will have to be reorganized and the different departments (roads, drainage, conservancy) will have to be made autonomous. I doubt if there is any room for a "sub-janta" Chief Engineer in a city of the size of Calcutta.

Have you instituted any enquiry into the periodic recurrence of small-pox in Calcutta?

I must stop here rather abruptly leaving many things unsaid as I am becoming too lengthy and have to catch the mail. I cannot even revise what I have written—please excuse haste.

With kindest regards,

Yours fraternally
SUBHAS C. BOSE

105. *From Sarat Chandra Bose*

38/1 Elgin Road
5.XII.25.

My dear Subhas,

Your letter of the 23rd Nov. came in this morning.

After a silence of several weeks I wrote to you on the 26th Nov. I believe that you will get that letter in 2 or 3 days' time, if you haven't got it already. In that letter, I have told you that people here did not think it necessary to set you up as a candidate in order to fight Dr. Dwarkanath Mitter & Sri Debaprasad. They thought that Nalini Babu & Lokenath Babu were good enough for the Liberal nominees. I am however sending your suggestions regarding the Election Campaign to Kiran Sankar and have no doubt they will prove useful.

I think you are right in not bringing your loss of weight to the notice of the authorities. Petitioning is foreign to our temperament and cannot be had recourse to specially after the treatment that was accorded to your first petition. You must have seen in the Rangoon papers that Sri Hugh Stephenson now admits that you have lost about 20 lbs. in weight. When questioned further about the matter, he said that the decrease was not due to ill health ! When Sengupta asked if it was due to good health there was no reply. You will get full details in *The Statesman* and *Bengalee* when they reach your hands. It is no use arguing with people of that mentality. Let us see when (if at all) Govt. think that a transfer from Mandalay is absolutely necessary in your case.

Ramiah sent to me on the 9th Nov. last a complete list of the books he has sent you from the Corporation Office. Please verify the same. The list is enclosed herewith.

I recommended Prithwis to the acting Chief Executive Officer. He has promised to remember him as soon as there is a vacancy. But the vacancy never comes ! I have asked Prithwis to join our paper as a travelling agent all over Bengal on a settled pay plus travelling expenses. He can sell shares, procure advertisements, enquire into complaints

about circulation and help in numerous ways. He hasn't yet made up his mind as to whether he will rejoin our paper.

I kept on your typist for several months and paid him his salary. But almost five months ago he left for home as he told me that somebody was seriously ill there. He wrote to me once from his home asking for a little money but I haven't heard from him since. It strikes me now that probably I didn't reply to his letter or send money. I am so busy during term time that I hardly find time to attend to correspondence. Moreover, the *Forward* is taking more and more of my time. We are making improvements in all departments. There is no doubt now that we are the foremost nationalist daily in India. That is recognised by English papers as well. So long today. I am hoping against hope that the cold weather will do you good. What you seem to need however is thorough examination by competent medical men there. Unless the root cause for the loss of weight is detected and removed, I don't expect any appreciable improvement.

This leaves us well.

Yours very affly

SARAT

(Sarat Chandra Bose)

106. *To The Superintendent
Mandalay Jail.*

Mandalay Jail

11.12.25

Dear Sir,

I am sorry I have to refer again to the question of warm clothing in view of another spell of extremely cold weather. We are urgently in need of warm underwears, gloves and extra rugs (or quilts) and these items at least cannot be put off without detriment to our health. As you are directly responsible for health we should like very much to know if you would feel inclined to sanction purchase of the above articles on medical grounds on your own responsibility as a medical officer.

By the way, I am sending you a cutting from a Calcutta paper which might interest you. This cutting contains questions put to the Bengal Legislative Council. These are supplementary questions and the main ones have not appeared. I am surprised at the reply sent by this Govt. Evidently they did not take the trouble of consulting a medical man, for no medical man in his senses would say that a loss of about 20 lbs in weight was not due to ill-health and could not be accounted for.

Yours faithfully

S. C. BOSE

(On behalf of the State Prisoners
& detenus)

107. *To The Superintendent,
Mandalay Jail.*

*Mandalay Jail
Friday, 11.12.25*

Dear Sir,

Apropos the conversation I just had with you I am sending you the correspondence which passed between me and the Chief Jailor. You will find therefrom that there is no reference to Thursday's mail. A perusal of the correspondence will make it clear that I have not accused him of neglect or delay in sending the letters before they actually arrived. My complaint was a general one and had no reference to Thursday. As far as this complaint is concerned, it is a legitimate one and I maintain it.

Yours faithfully

S. C. BOSE

P.S.:—Of course I did insist on getting the Thursday incoming mail the same evening (but not before they arrived) as we wanted to catch outgoing Friday mail in sending replies. But that is a different matter.

S. C. BOSE

108. *To The D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D. Bengal
Through The Superintendent
Mandalay Jail.*

Mandalay

13.12.25

Dear Sir,

I am writing this to offer a suggestion which if accepted will facilitate early delivery of letters to us. For some time past we have been experiencing delay in receiving letters only censored by your department, even after their arrival in Mandalay Jail. This I understand is due to the fact that censored letters meant for us are being now sent in double confidential covers. Formerly this was not the case and the jail staff used to open the envelopes containing the censored letters. As they are now being sent in double confidential covers, the envelopes have to await the arrival of the Superintendent who alone opens them. If we had a whole time Superintendent there would have been no trouble at all. But the present Superintendent who is the permanent Civil Surgeon of Mandalay, is a part-time officer and usually can attend only in the morning. The mail usually comes in after the Superintendent leaves the Jail with the result that the letters have to wait in the office till his next visit or they have to be sent after him. The latter procedure, however, is not altogether welcome. If therefore, the censored letters are separated from the confidential communications and are sent under ordinary covers or if the envelopes are marked "letters only" it will be possible for the jail staff to open the envelopes themselves without having to wait for the Superintendent or to trouble him by sending letters after him. Any other procedure may be adopted by your office which will make it possible for the jail staff to open the envelopes themselves and pass the letters to us immediately after their arrival. It is needless to say that if letters duly censored are held up in the jail-office, after their arrival, they do add to our uneasiness and anxiety. The above

procedure may be adopted by your office till at least we get a whole-time Superintendent.

I am

Yours faithfully
S.C.B.

109. *To The Hon'ble Member in charge
of the Political Department, Government
of Bengal through the Govt. of Burma.*

Mandalay
13.12.25

Dear Sir,

I beg to bring to your notice the fact that for some time past our relations with the present Superintendent of Mandalay Jail have not been either cordial or satisfactory. We had been expecting that with close acquaintance our relations might improve as in the case of the last Superintendent, but this has not happened so far and future prospects are not very hopeful either. It is not necessary for me to recapitulate the many incidents that have been the cause of strained feelings but I shall refer to the latest incident only. Since the weather became suddenly very cold here, (I may mention that we do not live in brick-built or stone-built rooms but in cage-like rooms made of wooden palisades and exposed to the biting wind from the north) we drew the attention of the Superintendent to the inadequacy of warm clothing at present with us. Owing to the delay in getting a reply from Govt. we requested him more than once to sanction urgent articles like rugs, woollen underwear and gloves on medical grounds. It was also pointed out to him that in view of the cold nights and morning the warm clothing of some, including myself, was not sufficient. The only response that we got was an offer of a "new jail blanket". I do not think members of the I.M.S. in Burma use jail-blankets or blankets of the same quality as jail blankets and I therefore failed to understand how the offer could be made to some state prisoners and detenus including myself.

The truth seems to me to consist in the fact that the present Superintendent is not probably acquainted with the provisions of Bengal Regulation III, 1818 and the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1925 which lay down the principles according to which state prisoners and detenus have to be treated. It is difficult for an officer long accustomed to handling convicts in accordance with the jail manual to adjust his relations properly towards persons put under restraint within his jurisdiction under the Regulations or the Act of 1925.

As our present strained relations may lead to unpleasant developments we think it desirable to be put in charge of a whole-time Superintendent who will have more time to attend to our complaints. We hope you will move the Govt. of Burma in the matter.

I am

Yours faithfully
S. C. BOSE

[This letter was not sent.]

110. *To Mr. Rahim*

Mandalay
14.12.25

Dear Mr. Rahim,

I have just heard about Mr. Chatterjee's desire to be alone in a cell. We are making the necessary arrangements here and it will not be necessary for him to go out of this yard at present. I shall have a talk with you in the evening when I go out for a walk after tennis. I shall call at the gate for you.

Yours sincerely
S. C. BOSE

111. *To The Inspector General
of Prisons, Burma through the
Superintendent, Mandalay Jail.*

Mandalay
15.12.25

Dear Sir,

I consider it desirable to bring to your notice certain facts about Mr. J. C. Chatterjee, one of the State Prisoners here. You probably remember that from the very beginning he had a touch of neurasthania and was rather excitable by nature. When I first arrived here I found that he considered himself to be a suspected case of tuberculosis. He was given to brooding in an inordinate manner, and I remember that during one of your visits you remarked that his disease was more neurasthantic than anything else. We have been noticing since then that his mental condition has been steadily growing worse. He has become more gloomy and more excitable and restless than before and appears to feel very unhappy. Only the other day, in a conversation with Mr. Mitra whom he drew aside for a confidential talk he gave expression to a desire to commit suicide, as a result of utter lack of interest in life. These facts have uptill now been treated by us with indifference but their true significance has been revealed by a recent development which has made it imperative on our part to bring everything to your notice. Yesterday, he suddenly wrote a confidential letter to the Superintendent asking his permission to live in a cell for a couple of days as he wanted to do some meditation and offer prayer for the recovery of his sister who is at present precariously ill. This fact was discovered by us only when he was making arrangements to remove to the cell after obtaining permission. Taking his present mental condition as well as the previous facts into consideration we came to the conclusion that he was in a morbid and abnormal state of mind. We therefore persuaded him—though not without great difficulty—to give up the idea of removing to a cell by promising to make some arrangements for his private meditation in our ward. This is how matters

stand at present.

It is not possible for a layman to analyse all the factors that have contributed to his present mental condition but I shall mention what strikes me at the moment. When we first arrived here he already had a touch of neurasthania. Since then he has not improved in health and in any case has not been able to give up his brooding habit. Owing to eye trouble he has not been able to study for the last few months and has thus lost an important source of diversion. Further it may be that the monotony of the place (he has been here for 1½ years) has also told on his nerves. A few months ago his sister fell precariously ill and some doctors declared her to be past recovery. Since then he has been subject to fits of melancholia. He applied to the Bengal Govt. for permission to interview his sister once but the request was not granted and this may have aggravated his condition. For several days he had been brooding continuously over his sister's illness and he is now a victim of melancholia. During a talk with him yesterday afternoon with the object of bringing him round he admitted that he realised at moments that he was not in a normal state of mind, and added that he was tired of his present surroundings. He added however that in solitude he would be able to gather together his mental powers and become his former self again. We apprehend on the other hand that solitude will only aggravate his disease instead of strengthening him and for that reason we have prevented him from removing to a cell even temporarily. The hints he has thrown at regarding his lack of interest in life and his desire to end it—when read in their proper context—seem to us to be alarming. Under the circumstances we are inclined to think that a change of environment is immediately necessary for Mr. Chatterji. We hope that you will give the matter your consideration and take such steps as you think necessary.

I am writing this without Mr. Chatterji's knowledge as I am afraid he will resent being described as in an abnormal state of mind.

Yours faithfully,
S. C. BOSE

112. *To The Superintendent
Mandalay Jail*

Mandalay
15.12.25

Dear Sir,

From the letter attached herewith addressed to the I.G.P. of Burma, all the facts about Mr. Chatterjee which are known to us will be clear to you. His condition seems to be serious and I hope that you will give the matter your best attention.

Yours faithfully
S. C. BOSE

113. *To Bivabati Bose**

Mother Durga be with us

Mandalay Jail
16th December (1925).

My dear Mejobowdidi,

I cannot express in words how happy I felt to receive your letter of the 5th December. Not having answered your two previous letters I did not expect that you would write to me. Anyway, I am now replying to your three letters.

I received the *Punjabi*¹ sent by you a few days ago. As soon as the parcel arrived I could tell that it was made of home-spun yarn—because otherwise why should there be only one *Punjabi*? Of course I could not guess who had done the spinning. For once I thought it was made out of yarn spun by *Sejobowdidi* and others. Then I thought it was probably the product of yarn spun by *Lalmamima*—because during my last imprisonment she had sent me *dhoti* and *chaddar* made out of her own yarn. Now I find that my guesses were wrong. I had not heard that you had also been spinning nowadays. Please do let me know who amongst you are spinning and how you all are faring. Who is the

* Translated from the original Bengali

¹ The Bengali prototype of shirt

most enthusiastic? Can *Didi* spin? Where do you get your yarn woven?

The *Punjabi* is very well made and I am saying so after trying it out. Just as one's own cooking tastes ten times better than somebody else's, clothing made out of one's own yarn feels many times better than those made out of yarn spun by others. I hope your enthusiasm will go on increasing steadily. We did some spinning here for some time after our arrival. And then the *charkha*² broke down and the person who was the most enthusiastic was transferred from here. So, the broken *charkha* is now lying on the top of the almirah. Once I thought of writing to Dr. P. C. Ray in Calcutta to send me a *charkha*. But then I thought it probably would get damaged in transit and so gave up the idea.

I often think of Sarada. How is she now? What is her principal occupation now? The goat, the cat, birds or the kiddies? With whom or with what does she spend most of her time?

I heard quite some time ago that *Chotobowdidi* was ill. How is she now?

That I have been in prison in a foreign country for a full year is of course a matter of great sorrow for you all, friends and relations. I cannot say that I do not feel sorry also. But I often think that Providence must be having a great purpose behind this. If that was not so, why of all political prisoners I or the handful of us had to come here? Besides, I can hardly express how happy I feel from time to time. Without this happiness I would probably have turned insane by this time. We often read in the scriptures that there is bliss in suffering. This is most certainly true. If man could not find any happiness in the performance of his duty, he would not face suffering with equanimity. Of course, the satisfaction that one gets through suffering for others he probably cannot get through any other kind of suffering. Could man put up with so much suffering if there was no happiness in a mother suffering for her child, brother for his brother, friend for his friend or the patriot for his country? It is indeed true that the devotee gets closer to Shri Krishna through the ordeal of separation.

Because, the year's exile has made my motherland so much the dearer, sweeter and more beautiful to me. I now feel that I have never in my life loved my country as much as I do now. And, if one has to suffer for the motherland, more glorious than Heaven itself,—is it not a matter of joy? Today I am outwardly an exile from my country—but my motherland is ever present inside my being and in my imagination. There is limitless joy in this inner closeness...

(The following five lines were deleted by the Censor. Ed.)

19/12/25

I could not write to *Mejdada* last week or this week. I shall write to him next week.

I was delighted to receive the *dhoti* and *chaddar* sent by Kanak on the occasion of Brothers' Day. I wanted to write to her separately but I am not sure if that will be possible. Please give her my news when she visits you.

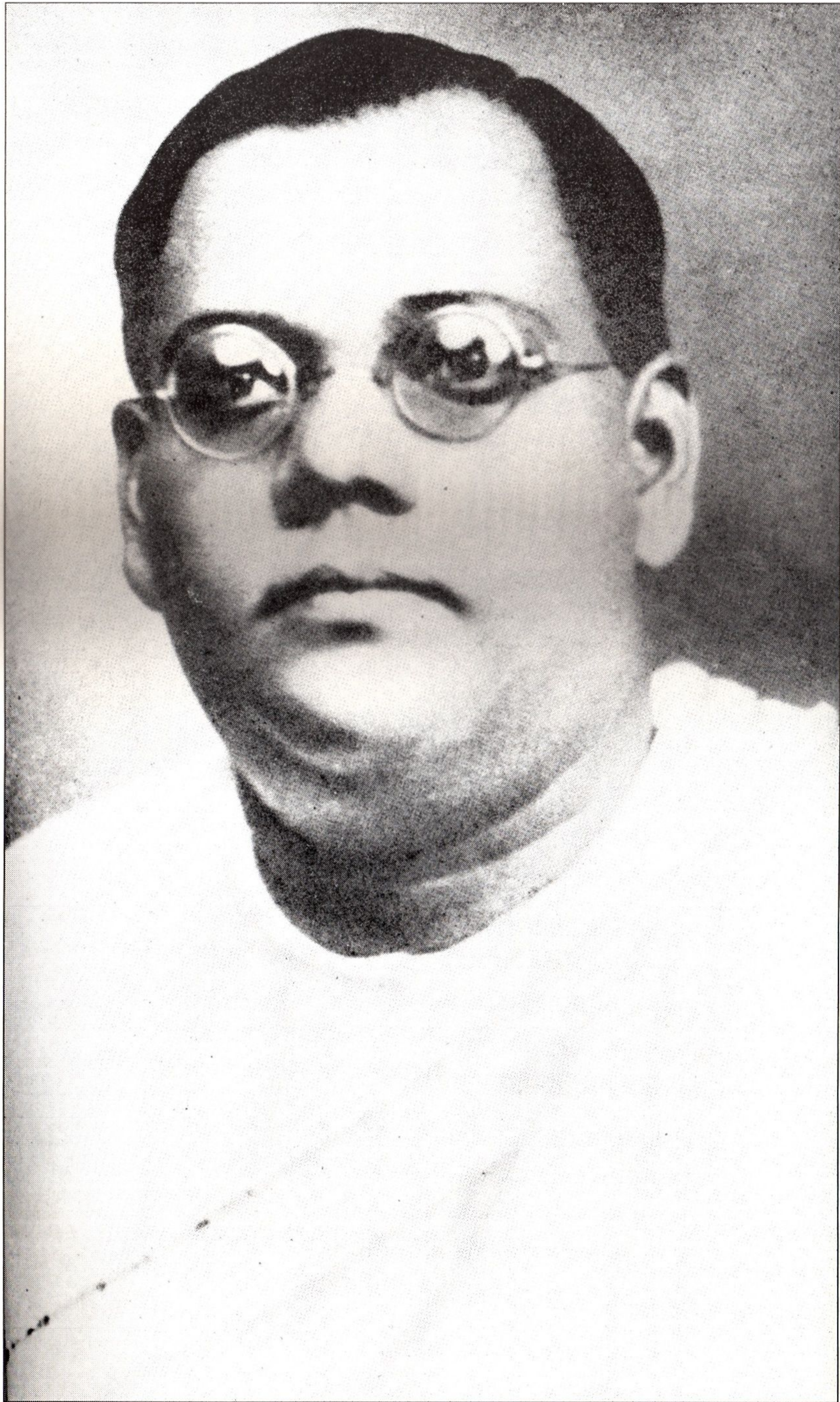
I have yet to mention one other thing. The Puja clothing you sent us made us all very happy. They did not reach us during the Puja—but what does it matter? For us all days of the month are holidays. I was not able to write to you separately offering my *Bijoya pronams*. I conveyed them in my letter to *Mejdada*. I hope you did not mind.

Puja news, I suppose, have become stale by now. I wonder if I ever felt so happy at any other Puja. The reason why we felt so happy was probably because we earned the right to perform the Puja after a lot of fighting. Who knows how long we shall have to be in prison? But, all our suffering will be bearable if we get the chance of worshipping the Mother once in a year. In Durga we see Mother, Motherland and the Universe all in One. She is at once Mother, Motherland and the Universal Spirit.

Well, I almost forgot to mention one other matter. I wrote to *Mejdada* already that the expenses on account of the Durga Puja would probably be met by the government. We have now received orders that we have to pay from our own sources. We had said that the Government should pay Rs. 500/- and we would meet the balance. We have already paid our promised share. But we are unable to pay



1 Subhas Chandra Bose, Chief Executive Officer, Calcutta Corporation, 1924



2 Sarat Chandra Bose, 1926



3 Mandalay Prison, 1925

even a fraction of the remaining Rs. 500/- and we shall not pay.

You must be keen to have local news. The chicken population has grown. There are four chicks. There were some more—but they died soon after being hatched. A full-fledged poultry house has been built on scientific lines. New cocks have been bought also. We have cock-fights from time to time. I had never seen cock-fights before. There was a proposal to have some pigeons—but due to want of living space they were not bought. But if we continue to be here for any length of time, there is no doubt that a nest of pigeons will certainly be brought into being. Life in prison is so boring and uninteresting that unless one can create some source of entertainment, it is rather difficult to keep steady.

The cat nuisance continues as before. Initially there were eight or nine. The fighting tom-cats used to spoil our sleep every night. They would take no notice of our admonitions—because they knew we were locked up. Then, one day we caught them in gunny bags and sent them off to a far away place. A number of them returned. Now they are three. These were sent away again but came back. Many here are ardent cat-lovers. What can they do!—in the absence of other objects of affection they cannot but satisfy themselves by pouring affection on cats. But I have not yet been able to develop any weakness for cats—(and how ugly these cats are!); one could love them if they were good-looking as Sarada's cats.

Every effort is being made to develop the garden. Our permanent Manager has given up his managing duties and is devoting himself to the garden. But the soil refuses to yield. And the Manager will not leave it alone. There is hardly anything that he has not planted on barely a few square feet of land. Spinach, egg-plant, gram, lentils, sugarcane, pineapple, onion and what not! And besides, so many varieties of flowering plants. Flowering plants were not growing in an area shut off from sun's rays; so he has devised all sorts of scientific measures. During this last week he has been projecting sun's rays on the flowering

4 Subhas Chandra Bose's letter to his brother, 1 May 1926

My dear brother,
I am writing you a paragraph from a newspaper regarding the trial and appeal of the poet. It is not clear from the report whether the defendant put up any defence or not. When he is brought up for trial, I hope the Calcutta papers will give us some information. Regarding the Statesman trial, it is not clear which party applied for the adjournment when to the communication or communication going to take place? I am interested to know all about this trial.
What has the defendant going to take up? He has going to stick to what they have said in their written statement?
It will be necessary probably to have a consultation with my lawyers before I can frame a communication. In case it is necessary, I hope the necessary arrangements will be made. It is hardly necessary to state that the interview with my lawyers starts in a private one and that not

2
The trial is the previous of a Calcutta trial — as in the case of the trial in Calcutta. I hope Calcutta is the Statesman still coming up?
Are you going to spend the whole of summer in Calcutta? How are you feeling this year? When is the summer season taking place?
I was interested to read that the Calcutta papers were about the various methods of the release of prisoners.
When you visit the Statesman trial, did you know any Bengali cases? What are the things which struck you as beautiful and an admirable specimen to Bengali? Hope this will find you all with well. How has the trial found in his time? I am sure of it.
S. Chandra Bose
28, Elgin Rd.
Calcutta.

shoots with the help of a large mirror placed in the sun. He thinks the flowering plants have now started growing very rapidly as a result of this device. We have therefore decided to call him "Jagadish Bose the Second"

There is hardly any doubt that the jail is a kind of a zoo. There is a fellow here who is called Shyamlal. We had already given him the title of "Pundit" in recognition of his intelligence. Recently in recognition of his even superior intellectual powers, we have added the appellation of "Upadhaya" and have assured him that he would eventually earn the title of "Mahamahopadhaya."

Shyamlal the Great took part in a burglary and came home with five rupees. His burglar friends cheated him of over a thousand rupees. For five rupees he was given fifteen years' rigorous imprisonment. He was sent to Rajshahi Jail. The convicts there organised a jail-break and escaped. After all the convicts had disappeared, Shyamlal discovered that the jail was empty and the main gate open. He went to the Head Warder and asked: "Sir, may I leave also?" The Head Warder replied: "You may do as you wish." After all the convicts had been rounded up, they were brought back to the jail and put on trial. In course of the trial, Shyamlal stood up and said: "My Lord, I went out of jail with the permission of the Head Warder." The judge refused to listen to his plea and he was awarded one year's rigorous imprisonment for jail-break.

Here Shyamlal was put in charge of the bathroom. His duty was to store water and to see that clothing, oil, soap, etc. were in order. He found that some convicts were wasting bath water and so he thought within himself of the means of preventing such wastage. After much deliberation he got into the bathroom and locked the door from inside. Then he got out through the window and slammed the window tightly from outside. The window got bolted from the inside and Shyamlal was mighty pleased with himself. When it became necessary to open the door at bath time, Shyamlal went on scratching his head. In recognition of his intelligence we immediately conferred upon him the title of "Pundit."

Shyamlal's titles continued to multiply, but the appellation of "Pundit" pleased him most and thereafter his enthusiasm for work increased further.

Once he developed dermatitis and he came to the conclusion that he had leprosy. He went on asking everybody the cure for leprosy. Later, he showed such talent over some other episode that he was promoted to the rank of "Upadhaya". Flowering of his intellect is taking place so rapidly that there is no doubt he will soon earn the honourable title of "Mahamahopadhaya."

There is another funny fellow here. He is known as "Yankaya" and his original home is in the Madras area. He came to this country forty years ago with the British when they conquered North Burma. He is now only seventy years old and he has married only thrice in his life. He is as stout as he is tall and his tummy is bigger still. He is extremely fond of eating and has come to realise very deeply that eating is the highest truth in this world. He does not know any language. The dialect that he uses now is Karungi (a Madrasi dialect)—a queer amalgam of Hindustani and Burmese. Because of this quality—of not being able to speak any language well—he was detailed first to work for the Bengalis. We follow him more by his gestures and expression rather than by his language. He was another exceptional quality—he is incapable of pronouncing any name correctly. For "Bhog Singh" he says "Bursing"; instead of "Kriparam" he says "Tripad-Raju"; for "Subhas Babu" he says "Surban Babu", for "Bipin Babu" he says "Gobin Babu", etc. Let me give you an example of his language—"Tripad-Raju chala gaya seeday", which means "Kriparam has gone away." Of his sentence, "Chala gaya" is Hindustani and "Seeday" is Burmese word. Yankaya is all the time worried that we might someday go away. He may then be in trouble about his food.

When we sit down together with the newspapers, he feels almost completely lost. When he gets the chance to speak to me alone, he asks anxiously: "Babu bengla chala gaya?" That is to say: are the Babus going back to Bengal? He feels comforted when he is told that we

were not. On the other hand, he declares with bravado : "Babu, bengla chala gaya bahut kaunde"; that is to say, it will indeed be very good when the Babus return to Bengal. "Kaunde" is a Burmese word meaning "good".

Well, I must not end the story in one day. How is Polly? The Kaviraji medicines have done me some good, but I cannot be sure that the improvement will last. Recently I had cold and fever. I am well now. How are you all? Please accept my pronams.

Yours
SUBHAS

114. *From Sarat Chandra Bose*

38/1 Elgin Road
19.12.25

My dear Subhas,

I received your letter of the 4th on the 12th.

I have got the points which you mentioned to *Rangamamababu* (Mr. B. N. Dutt) at the interview at Mandalay last month. I am taking the necessary steps.

I met Mr. S. N. Haldar yesterday and told him that his letter had been withheld.

I am leaving for Cawnpore on the 2nd or the 23rd instant.

Mother has received your letter.

I have forwarded your voting paper to Viswabharati.

Was there any University degree in England at any time, the first letters of which were A.B. I found in one of the annotations of an old Professor, the degree A.B. after his name. Your degree B.A.; so long as I have known, the bachelors degree has been B.A. Personally I always prefer degree to be in consecutive letters and I would prefer to put A.B. after your name and not B.A. But the University has ruled otherwise.

Hope you are better. We are very anxious for your loss of weight. I do not see any reason why they should

not transfer you to a better place.

In haste.

Yours very affly
SARAT

Subhas C. Bose Esq.
B.A. (Cantab)

115. *To Sarat Chandra Bose*

Mandalay
30.12.25

My dear brother,

I have not written to you for some time past—for more than a fortnight, I think. Your letter of the 19th reached me yesterday and your letter of the 5th Dec. is still unanswered.

I have compared the list Ramiah has sent me with my books and I find that I have got all of them.

You will get this after return from Cawnpore—if you have gone there. I am eager to know how you enjoyed your trip.

I hope *Rangamamababu* has brought to the notice of the Bengal and Burma Govts the points I mentioned at my interview with him.

I have not had any news about Mrs. Das for some time past. How is she doing?

I do not think that at any British University A.B. is written instead of B.A. I am not however altogether sure of the Scottish Universities like Aberdeen.

Hope this will find you all quite well. I am so so.

Yours very affly
SUBHAS

B. C. Bose Esq.
38/1 Elgin Road
Calcutta.

116. To Gopabandhu Das

Mandalay Jail
(C/o. D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.
Bengal
13 Elysium Row
Calcutta)
24.12.25

My dear Gopabandhu Babu,

Your letter of 26.4.25 reached me some time ago and I was delighted to receive it. The Oriya books I have been expecting all these days but they have not arrived yet. I am rather anxious to have the books because I am keen on picking up Oriya. I get what books I want from the Book Company (College Square, Calcutta) where I have an account. If I know the name of the Oriya books, I can ask them to procure the same for me. Can you suggest a decent Oriya Grammar or preferably an Anglo-Oriya or Bengali-Oriya grammar?

I cannot tell you how delighted I have been to receive your blessings as well as your message of hope and strength. I thank God that in his infinite kindness he has given me strength to turn my present experience to good account—though I have not been able to enjoy good health all through.

I have been following the development of the Oriya Amalgamation scheme and I only hope that before Lord Reading departs, he will make some announcement favourable to Oriya (popular) opinion.

I was pained to hear about the floods in Orissa. Misfortunes never come alone, it appears. Please let me know the extent of the damage done and what relief it was possible to render.

Sylhet has been transferred to Bengal—I do not see any reason why Ganjam should not be restored to Orissa. The amalgamation is bound to take place sooner or later—the Madras Govt. by their opposition are only putting off that event.

I can imagine how the premature death of Dr. Bal

Krishna Misra and Pandit Kripasindhu Misra has affected and overwhelmed you. What consolation can I offer you? May God grant you strength to face the bereavement. Those whom God loves, die young. Your desire to retire from public life has touched me by its very pathos. I realise that it is quite natural for one to feel as you are now feeling but I earnestly hope that that desire will pass away in time. You renounced your own personal freedom the day you entered upon a public career. Public life is like *hannyasa*—when one enters it, one has renounced his personal freedom and burnt all his boats and there is no going back on such a course once adopted. Though you are feeling staggered for the time being and your distress seems to be insurmountable—I am sure you will in time regain your balance. I do not know why it is so—but it seems to be a law of life that the larger the heart, the greater is the suffering. Swami Vivekananda has said in one of his songs—“যত উচ্চ তোমার হৃদয়, তত দৃঃখ জ্ঞানও নিশ্চয়”—which means the same thing.

I hope something will really be done for the drainage of the Puri district and a pious resolution will not prove to be the only consummation.

The increasing poverty and misery of Orissa is only a part of the whole picture. Orissa was poor to start with, that is why her sufferings today are so intense. But the same process of the gradual increase of poverty and misery is going on all over India and in Burma also.

I hope this will find you well in spite of your bereavement. Please remember me to friends. I am so so. Accept my respectful *pronams*.

I am,

Yours affly

SUBHAS C. BOSE

P.S. Please let me know if there are any books dealing with the lives of Oriya saints and *sadhus* and their methods of “*Sadhana*”.

S.C.B.

117. *To Anil Chandra Biswas***Mandalay Jail*

(? 1925)

You may have heard already that our hungerstrike was not altogether meaningless or fruitless. Government have been forced to concede our demands relating to religious matters and henceforward a Bengal State Prisoner will get an annual allowance of thirty rupees on account of Puja expenses. Thirty rupees are an insignificant amount and will not meet our expenses, but our principal gain is that the government have now accepted the principle which they refused to do so long—the question of money has been in all ages and all climes a most unimportant one. Apart from our Puja demands, the government has also met many of our other demands. However, speaking in the Vaishnavic spirit I have to say, “All this is merely the exterior.” That is to say, the biggest gain of hungerstrike is inner fulfilment and bliss—the question of fulfilment of demands is an external question and a matter of the material world. Without suffering man can never realise his oneness with his spiritual ideal and unless he is put to the test, he can never be sure and certain of the limitless power that he possesses inside himself. Thanks to this experience I have come to know myself far better and my self-confidence has increased manifold.

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We have to try to establish home industries through social service. We shall get new ideas if we go round the Commercial Museum, Bengal Home Industries Association and such institutions and establishments. You will also benefit by reading some of the Annual Administrative Reports of the Department of Home Industries of the Bengal Government. Above all, it is necessary to visit centres of home industries, watch the methods of work with one's own eyes and learn. I do not think very large funds will be

* Translated from the original Bengali

necessary to run cottage industries. First of all, we must have at least one person from amongst the members who will think about it, collect information and study literature. Then, he will personally go and see the working of such cottage industries as we can possibly run. When ultimately the decision will be taken to start a particular cottage industry, then workers have to be sent to learn the job. I do not see any need for anybody to go through the entire course of the Polytechnic Institute. Neither do I consider it necessary for anybody to learn electroplating and such other jobs there. Because we have a sewing department of our own and there will be no advantage in teaching at our society the work of ironsmiths or electroplating. As far as I can recall (I have been to the Polytechnic only once), of all the industries at the Polytechnic we can adopt only cane-work and clay-modelling for our cottage industries; I am rather doubtful even about cane-work because I am not sure that we can get the women to do this work. Now, if you decide to carry on with clay-modelling, then any worker may go and learn the art within a few days. There will be no expenses and only when we start the cottage industry we shall have to spend some cash on paints. Apart from this, expenditure will be very little. In short, one person must devote himself entirely to this problem—he must become mad over it.

Another thing comes back to my mind again and again—I may have written about this already—and that is about making buttons of shell. In many village homes of the Dacca district, this industry is active. Men and women of poor households do this job in their spare time. One worker can be trained in this art within a very short time. Alternatively, you may appoint a new worker who knows and can teach this job.

You may try to get such a worker through newspaper advertisement. I am inclined to think that buttons can be made by a process of friction against hard stone,—we can, if we wish, do it ourselves. A pointed instrument is what you need for making the holes and for effecting the round contour you may perhaps need a sharp instrument. If you

can get the Society to arrange for a few instruments and a bagful of shell, you may start work. The work will be confined to the relief-seekers, but once you are successful you will see that ordinary poor families will take to it to augment their income. The Society will merely provide the raw materials at a cheap price and arrange for the sale of finished products at a higher price. To start work in this line you will have to devote a lot of time at the initial stages.

So long.

118. To Anil Chandra Biswas*

Mandalay Jail
(? 1925)

I duly received the papers you sent me some time ago,—Welcome Address to Mahatmaji, the programme of the conference held for Deshbandhu Memorial Fund, etc. Yesterday I also received the list of books of the library, the programme of the variety entertainment, etc. sent by you. I can hardly express in words how happy I feel to know of the steady progress of the work of the Society.

I am pleased to know that you have collected so much money even after meeting the expenses. I agree with you entirely on what you have written about *charkha*, spinning, etc. But you must not give up trying even now. You said in your previous letter that one gentleman might let us have eighty bighas of land if we could grow cotton. If there is a possibility of getting such a land, not much in the way of capital investment will be necessary for cotton-growing. If we could provide for salaries of one or two gardeners and for cotton seed, we might show results within a year. If the land is fallow, expenses may go up for making it suitable for cultivation. Of course, one should consult with the Agricultural Department before deciding upon the type of cotton seed to be sown. What cottage industries you have already started (such as, packet making) you should con-

* Translated from the original Bengali

tinue if there be no loss even though the profits may be small. If we can run more profitable industries later, we shall give them up. Those who receive assistance at the present time must by any means be kept engaged in some work. When they will have given up begging and learnt to work, they can be very gainfully employed in the profit-earning industries. Even if the current cottage industries do not turn out to be a financial success, the community may be greatly benefited by the creation of the will to work and a realisation of the dignity of labour. Mr. Madan Mohan Burman has many ideas about cottage industries. A meeting with him in this connection may be quite fruitful.

If we can make crispies, pickles, chutneys, etc. there is no reason why we should not get along. Women, particularly widows, will be good for this job. But, can you get people to teach the art? In order to get a good market, the products have to be very good. If there is some possibility of producing good stuff, you may take this up as an experiment. Either you will supply the raw materials and get the finished products (sale being of course in your charge), or they may buy the raw materials, prepare the things and sell them to you. It will be necessary to discuss matters with the dealers before starting the work—whether they will be able to push our products in the market; if raw materials are good, the products may well be of good quality, but on the other hand there is the much bigger possibility of theft. Those who will do such work are poor people; so, who can be sure that once they get a supply of mangoes, lemon, oil, chillies, etc, they will not use them for their household purposes? On the other hand, if they buy raw materials themselves, prepare the stuff and supply them to you, there is the danger of inferior ingredients being used (such as, bad oil) in making the products. Please decide upon your course of action after weighing the pros and cons of the matter as a whole. One word more, one must know what is the demand for such products in the market. My own feeling is that there is not much hope of success in such a venture unless we have really conscientious recipients. Poor but enlightened families will be suitable for the job.

As soon as the finished products arrive, they should be paid for or the labour charge should be met; and we shall have to store them as long as they are not disposed of.

It is most important for the Society to take up one other kind of work.

There are two jails in Calcutta—the Presidency and the Alipore Central. When a Hindu convict having no relations in Calcutta dies, he is not properly cremated, arrangements have to be made to get him cremated on payment by somebody of the sweeper class. On the other hand, Muslims have their Burial Association and as soon as they are informed of the death of any Muslim convict, they arrange for his proper burial. There should be a similar organisation for Hindu convicts. Can the Sevak Samity take charge of this work? If you agree you may get Basanta Babu to write to the Jail Superintendent to say that the Samity is prepared to take charge of this work. Even if you are not able to arrange for this just at present, I shall try to have this done when I am free. I have taken part in many cremations in case where there was dearth of people; so, I shall myself be prepared to act as a volunteer in such work.

If you want to get cottage industries going, you have to take one important step. You have to get one suitable youngman trained to a certain extent in the Cossimbazar Polytechnic or some such other institution. They make wonderful clay dolls and images of gods and goddesses in the Cossimbazar School. If you can get recipients of relief from the Samity to take to such industries, their products may be sold all over Bengal, particularly at fairs and festivals. Another folk art is in vogue in this country—and that is, flowers, bouquets, flowering shoots and Chinese lanterns with coloured paper. The products are so beautiful that one cannot tell just by a look that they are made of paper. Even small children of cultured families can make them very well indeed.

Button making has been a cottage industry of Dacca. Many are under the impression that Dacca buttons are factory made but actually they are not so. In many homes

in the villages, womenfolk do this job in their leisure time—even during breaks in their cooking for the family. That is why they are so cheap. Please give some thought to the possibility of introducing the button industry in Calcutta. Maybe, somebody has to be sent to Dacca to see how the industry functions in so many homes.

It is desirable to organise lectures and slide shows on health matters in the Bhowanipore area. Lectures are needed more in the poorer localities. If possible, please try to buy slide projection equipment and pictures for the Sevak Samity. The effect will be much more if lectures are delivered with the aid of slides. As to pictures, it will be better to have them drawn by a local artist than to buy them. So long.

119. *To Anil Chandra Biswas**

Mandalay Jail
(? 1925)

Dear Friend,

I was very happy to receive your letter and to have all news. You should not feel disappointed or worried because not many members of the Executive Committee take interest in the affairs of the Orphanage. The same is the case with most Executive Committees. You have to rouse the spirit of service and enthusiasm in others by your own example. One cannot serve others in the community unless their misfortune evokes sympathy and fellow-feeling. Even if it be possible, it cannot be really fruitful. It is my hope and wish that you may be able, by your devoted service and love for the people to create similar feelings in others in society.

Is there any land suitable for gardening attached to the building of the Orphanage?

I am pleased to learn that you are able to raise as much as Rs. 140/- as monthly subscription. What is the house rent that you have to pay now? How many floors does the building have and how many rooms? How many

* Translated from the original Bengali

students are there in the Corporation Primary School and from which class do they come? Please let me know in detail about the course of instruction given to orphanage boys and also if and how many servants does the Orphanage have.

Who does the daily cooking? How many among the boys are being taught weaving and working with the sewing machine? How soon do you expect at least one boy to learn weaving and sewing (just enough to be able to make ordinary coat and shirt)?

What is the average intelligence of the boys? If you will send me detailed reports about the Orphanage as far as possible, I shall study them and try to give you some advice. Please also send me details about arrangements regarding the boys' food. What arrangements are there for medical treatment in the event of illness? Have you got to spend on treatment and medicines?

So long.

120. *To The Superintendent
Mandalay Jail*

*Mandalay Jail
(?) 1925*

Dear Sir,

Regarding the books wanted for Insein Jail I may inform you that the number of Bengali books we have here is too small to enable us to spare any. We are however sending those books of Dr. Tagore—duplicate copies of which have been purchased for us at Govt. cost. The number of Bengali books is so small and they are so much in demand here that they cannot be used as part of a circulating library.

Yours faithfully
S. C. BOSE

121. *To The Chief Secretary
to the Govt. of Bengal*

*Mandalay Jail
(?) 1925*

Re: the Durga Puja Ceremony.

Dear Sir,

I hope you are aware that the Durga Puja which comes off on the 24th September and the following week, is a ceremony which is universally observed by Hindus and particularly by the Hindus of Bengal. It is the most important puja ceremony in the whole year. The ceremony lasts for five days and the ritual is so elaborate that the puja can be performed only when preparations have been made in advance.

As we shall have to perform this ceremony here we request that special arrangements be made in order to enable us to do so. For this purpose a sum of Rs. . . . will be necessary to which we request the sanction of Govt.

We are told that for the performance of ordinary ceremonies Bengali priests are not available here. The Durga puja is a much more difficult ceremony and few among the ordinary Bengali priests can perform the ceremony. It will therefore be necessary to bring a priest from Bengal. We therefore request that arrangements be made to despatch a priest from Bengal in time.

In view of the importance of the matter we hope that this will receive your prompt attention.

Yours faithfully
S. C. BOSE

[This letter was not sent.]

122. *To H.E., The Governor of Burma*

*Mandalay
(?) 1925*

May it please Your Excellency

Some time ago we applied for permission to use musical instruments belonging to us or purchased at our own cost. The question was referred to the I.G.P. Burma, by him to

the local Govt. and ultimately to the Govt. of Bengal. We have been informed that the Bengal Govt. have not allowed musical instruments for the use of state prisoners and detenus as that would adversely affect the discipline of the jail. The Local Govt. concurring with this view have refused our request to use musical instruments.

In Bengal this question has been under consideration for some time past. When I was in Berhampur Jail (Bengal) in Dec. 1924, I discussed the question with the I.G.P., Bengal and brought to his notice the fact that music was allowed in the case of European and Anglo-Indian prisoners, both Catholics and Protestants, in the Alipore Central Jail on Church days. The Church in that Jail is situated in the Centre and the sound of the organ can reach any corner of the jail—nevertheless it was not supposed to disturb the discipline of the jail. The I.G.P. appreciated my argument and said that he would consider the matter.

I am not aware what has happened since then, for I left Bengal in January last. However, the circumstances here are quite different. We are confined in a corner of the jail and quite far from the main block where the general body of prisoners work during the day and sleep at night. It is doubtful whether the strains of the noisy instruments would reach so far. Moreover the sound of instruments like *sitar* and *esraj* can hardly be heard from the next room. The Superintendent of this jail had no objection to our using musical instruments if the higher authority had no objection and he gave his opinion when he discussed the question with the I.G.P. during his visit here. Under these circumstances we fail to understand why musical instruments should be disallowed in this particular case. This is a matter which is within the competence of the local Govt. If the jail authorities are of opinion that there is no danger of music causing a subversion of discipline there can be no valid reason for withholding permission.

We can appreciate a restriction regarding the hours during which music is to be played but a wholesale refusal is incomprehensible.

Music is a requirement not only on aesthetic but on

religious grounds as well. It is ennobling in its effect and as recreation is without any equal. I venture to think that if man is regarded as a being possessing a soul, music is as much a necessity as food and drink. Further from the point of jail reform music should be made available to all convicts not to speak of state prisoners and detenus. The Bengal Govt. had already made a beginning by providing music at Govt. expense for Anglo-Indian and European convicts on Church days in the Alipore Central Jail and the extension of this privilege to all convicts is simply a question of time.

My only justification for approaching your Excellency on so small a matter is the hope that I may find in your Excellency that broadmindedness and largeness of vision without which all administration is bound to degenerate into a monotonous and lifeless machine. The departmental authorities with the slogan of reform on their lips are not yet prepared to consider even state prisoners as anything more than biological entities and are therefore not in a position to meet the requirements of the artistic, emotional and religious nature.

I pray that your Excellency may be pleased to consider the arguments that I have urged and sanction the use of musical instruments provided at our own cost.

I have the honour to be your Excellency's most obedient servant.

S. C. BOSE

123. *To the Superintendent
Mandalay Jail.*

Mandalay,
(?) 1925

Dear sir,

I have read your note regarding the telegram sent from Calcutta conveying the news of the death of Mr. Das. I am surprised that you did not breathe a word to me about the affair. My people were under the impression that the news had been duly conveyed to me. On my part I was

sorry that no one from Bengal had taken the trouble to apprise me of the news. I do not know what harm would have happened if I had been informed at the time as you knew perfectly well that the news would be out in the papers within a day or two. Besides I do not think you know what relations existed between the late Mr. Das and myself.

I do not question that you acted within your power in referring the telegram to the D.S.P. But according to official procedure and out of courtesy, I would have expected you to convey the news to me after the telegram was censored by the local police. If you had gone to the length of withholding the news from me you should have at least informed the sender.

You may remember that when the IGP was here last we exchanged a few words regarding the late Mr. Das within your hearing—but even then you did not give any inkling about the telegram.

The upshot of all this is that it leaves a suspicion in our mind as to whether all communications intended for us do actually reach us.

Yours faithfully
S. C. BOSE

[This letter was not sent.]

124. *To The Superintendent,
Mandalay Jail.*

Mandalay,
(?) 1925

Dear Sir,

I have been informed by Mr. Penfold about the instructions sent by the IGP regarding dietary allowance. I am sure you will agree that under the circumstances it is very irritating. We have arrived here towards the end of January. Six months have elapsed, but the diet question does not seem to have been settled yet. For the first few months, with the consent of the IGP, as an experiment we

were given what we required and the average expenditure came up to Rs 5/8 per diem. Thereafter we were asked not to exceed the rate of Rs 4/- per head per diem, and we did so for some time. Next came the instructions that pending the decision of the Govt. of Bengal the old rate should be adhered to. We complied with this as well. We were then informed that the Bengal Govt. in accordance with the recommendation of the Burma Govt. had recommended to the Govt. of India an allowance of Rs 3/- per head per diem with effect from July. In accordance with that it was decided in the presence of the D.C., that the new rate of Rs 3/- should be brought into effect from the 13th July. Now comes the news that the old rate of Rs 2/- should not be exceeded till the final sanction of the Govt. of India is obtained.

We do not know what the latest order really means. Does it imply that the question of an increase in the diet allowance is going to be shelved? July being over, I fail to understand how the new rate of Rs 3/- can be brought into effect from July onwards, unless action is taken in anticipation of the formal sanction of the Govt. of India. If the Govt. of India sanction in October an increase in the dietary allowance with effect from July—how is it going to be acted upon except in anticipation of formal sanction? Moreover from our point of view the authorities, whoever they may be, introduced a new rate and now in a most irritating manner the new arrangement is being disturbed and the old rate is being reverted to. This cannot but give us the impression that the attitude of the authorities is altogether whimsical.

We desire to make a strong representation to the Govt. regarding the matter immediately. For this purpose it is necessary to meet the D.C. and the non-official visitors first as early as possible. We shall thereupon be obliged if you write to them asking them to give us a call at their earliest convenience.

I am
Yours faithfully
S. C. BOSE

125. *To The Superintendent
Mandalay Central Jail*

Mandalay
(?) 1925

Dear Sir,

I have seen your remarks on the note I sent to the Chief Jailer this morning and I have also received a communication from you—I cannot call it a letter—dealing with the same subject.

You say that the language I use towards the Chief Jailer is perfectly unjustifiable. I suppose I know more about the Chief Jailer and his ways than you do. I have been here for over six months—you have been here for only two months. It does not speak highly of your sense of fairness that while you call my language “perfectly unjustifiable”—you do not think it necessary to say a word about the insulting action of the Chief Jailer in summarily curtailing our supplies without the slightest reference to us at a time when the catering is in our hands. On the other hand you have taken an aggressive step in ordering—the Chief Jailer ostensibly—that “no reply is to be made to this letter (i.e. my letter to the Chief Jailer) nor any information given to Mr. Bose until he learns to use language more in accordance with his position”. You know better about the wily ways of the Chief Jailer and the innumerable pinpricks to which he has been subjecting us from the day of our arrival here. They were duly brought to the notice of your predecessor and Inspector General of Prisons—and if you had been more sympathetic in your general attitude towards us, less brusque in your manner and bearing and less inclined to support your subordinates no matter what our grievances may be—I dare say you would by this time have learnt from us much more than you actually have. If the Chief Jailer takes his step which is insulting to us he should not reckon without his host—and should like a true sportsman be prepared to receive the proper punch in return. Your knightly attitude in coming to the succour of the Chief Jailer may smack of chivalry, it is as pathetic as

the attempt to father a hopeless cause.

You have talked about using language more in accordance with my position and you want me “to show a knowledge of the courtesies of life practised among civilized people”. In the first place may I point out to you that I know something about the manner in which you address the officials of this jail and the not too endearing expressions that you use towards them. And it does not lie in your mouth to talk of courtesy and politeness. Apart from this I may inform you that not only do I come from a highly respectable family but I have received what is considered to be the best education not only in this country but in England as well. I am not quite ignorant of the “courtesies of life commonly practised among civilized people” as you seem to be inclined to think and I feel tempted to say “Physician heal thyself”. I would ask you to compare the form in which I write to you with the form in which you are in the habit of writing. Probably believing that “brevity is the soul of wit”, you have made a departure from the already two rigid restraints of gentlemanly correspondence by discarding such superfluous expressions as “Dear Sir” or “Yours faithfully” and the like. In this connection I would request you to examine carefully the communications I receive from the I.G.P. and the Chief Secretary to the Govt. and you will find therefrom that that they have not yet found it necessary to do away with such verbal superfluities.

You have referred to my “position”. Yes, I can assure you that as an officer I am in the habit of treating my subordinates not only with consideration but with courtesy and politeness as becoming of my social status and my education. As a man I am extremely peace-loving, if I ever use strong language—it is only under provocation and when a sense of self-respect—to which I proudly lay claim—impells me to make a verbal retaliation. And you cannot expect me or any Bengali political prisoner to be as submissive or obsequious as your subordinate officers or convicts may generally be. If your personal experience has led you to believe in the obsequiousness of servility of

the race to which I belong, I can only deplore it and I can say that only in the hard school of experience will your disillusionment come.

In conclusion I may tell you that I am here not to learn lessons from you on courtesy and politeness and you might therefore have spared yourself the trouble of treating me to a homily.

Yours faithfully
S. C. BOSE

[This letter was not sent.]

126. *To The Chief Secretary
to the Government of Bengal.*

Mandalay
(?) 1925

Re—Music

Dear Sir,

Some time ago we asked the permission of the local jail authorities to use musical instruments. The Superintendent, Captain Smith said that he had no objection but since it would be a departure from the existing custom, he referred the matter to the I.G.P., Burma. The I.G.P. referred the matter to the Burma Govt. who in turn referred it to the Govt. of Bengal. The Govt. of Bengal replied saying that that request had been refused in Bengal on the ground that music would adversely affect the general discipline of the Jail. The Burma Govt. fell in with this view and informed us that our request could not be granted.

We should like to bring to the notice of the Bengal Govt. the fact that in the Alipore Central Jail, Christian prisoners are allowed to have music on Church days. There is a Church situated in the centre of the jail and the peal of the organ can reach every corner of the jail. Nevertheless the music is not supposed to upset the discipline of the jail. When the I.G.P. of Bengal visited the Berhampore jail towards the beginning of January last I pointed this fact out to him and I was told that he would consider the question

of music. We venture to think that having allowed music to Christian convicted prisoners it is too late for any reasonable Govt. to refuse it in the case of state prisoners and deteuns of education and culture. Music is a necessity on aesthetic and religious grounds and particularly in the case of men of education and culture. Moreover, as a recreation, it is probably unequalled. If man is considered as something more than an animal, it must be admitted that music is as much a necessity for him as protein and carbohydrate. Carlyle once said—"The man that has no music in his soul is capable of the grossest crimes". He never imagined that in the 20th century in his Majesty's Prisons in India, music would be severely banned lest it should have an ennobling effect on the minds of prisoners. We can understand a restriction regarding the hours during which music is to be played inside the jail. We can even understand a restriction regarding the kind of musical instrument that should be allowed. There are several musical instruments which are less noisy than an organ and if the peal of the organ does not disturb the discipline of the jail, as in the Alipore New Central Jail, there is no reason why the sound of these instruments should do so. A wholesale ban on music and musical instruments in the case of Hindu state prisoners and detenus of education and culture is therefore utterly incomprehensible.

We feel that if we had been in Bengal, we would have been able to persuade the Govt. to take up a liberal and progressive attitude with regard to the question of music. Backward as the Bengal jail system is when compared with that of other civilized countries, the Burma jail system is worse. And our misfortune is that having been kept in Burma we have in all matters to appeal to a system which is well-nigh ante-diluvian. We apprehend that the ban on music which now exists in the Bangal jails in the case of Hindu convicts will be taken up by the Burma Govt. in disallowing music in our case.

In deciding this question, we hope the Govt. of Bengal will take into consideration the status of state prisoners and detenus. As the I.G.P. Bengal stated in his recent jail

administration report, state prisoners and detenus are not confined for the sake of punishment but for the sake of custody only. We can assure the Govt. that to most if not all of the state prisoners and detenus, to be deprived of music altogether amounts to a real hardship.

From the point of view of jail reform it is time for the Bengal Govt. to allow music for non-Christian convicts. But in the time I request that Govt. be pleased to reconsider the question and raise the ban on music in the case of state prisoners and detenus. Such a step will make it easier for us to obtain the sanction of the Burma Govt. to the use of musical instruments in the jail.

Yours faithfully
S. C. BOSE

127. *To The Superintendent,
Mandalay Jail.*

*Mandalay Central Jail
? 1925*

Dear Sir,

I desire to bring to your notice the fact that in connection with the Puja ceremony recently held inside the Jail, the bill of the image maker has not yet been paid. I fail to understand why the bill has been held up. The estimate submitted by the image maker was accepted by the Superintendent who gave him an order in writing to do the work. There is thus a legal obligation on the part of the Govt. to pay him. Moreover the Superintendent had informed the higher authorities in writing that the image maker had been ordered to commence work and that he had been paid an advance. There cannot thus be any difficulty as regards Govt. sanction to the payment of the cost of the image.

The object of holding up payment can only be a two-fold one. In the first place, the image maker will be subjected to unnecessary harassment after he has completed his work and the ceremony is over. Secondly, the image maker will get the idea that we are responsible for holding up payment and his services will not be available to us on

a future occasion. It is, however, clear that owing to delay in making payment on the part of your office we shall be penalised in the long run. We may have to stay in Mandalay for an indefinite period. If therefore the services of these people be not available on the occasion of religious festivals, friction with the jail authorities will inevitably result. Under the circumstances I hope you will see that the bill in question is paid up without any further delay.

Yours faithfully
S. C. BOSE

127A. *From Dilip Kumar Roy*
Replied
S.C.B.

*34 Theatre Road
Calcutta
6.5.25*

My dear Subhas,

I wrote to you a long letter about a month and a half ago. I do not know if you have received it. It was an emotional letter so I fear the police authorities might have thought fit not to deliver it to you. So I write this letter in a matter-of-fact way hoping this may perhaps reach you.

I want to ask you if you have received the following books which I sent to you first in Alipore and then Berham-pur jail :—

- 1) *Icarus on the Future of Science* by Bertrand Russel
- 2) *Life and Letters* (2nd volume) by Anatole France
- 3) *Opinions of Jerome Coignard* by "
- 4) *Garden of Epicurus* by "
- 5) *Mother of Pearl* by "
- 6) *Prospects of Industrial Civilization* by Bertrand Russel
- 7) *Problem of China* by Bertrand Russel
- 8) *Einstein the Seacher* by a Russian
- 9) *My Days and Dreams* by Carpenter
- 10) *The Research Mangnificent* by H.G. Wells
- 11) *Disenchantment* by Montague.

I want to know because unless I am sure you have received them I do not think it will be of much use sending you any more to be lost or miscarried. So please drop me a few lines if you can or let your brother know and direct me through him if you want any particular books or if you would rather leave it to my choice.

As for me I am getting on well. I am writing a big Bengali book and an English book. The latter is to contain four of my interviews with great men. I will send you a copy of the same as soon as it is published.

In the meanwhile I send you my best love and warm regards my dear friend.

Yours ever affectionately,
DILIP (KUMAR ROY)

127B. From Dilip Kumar Roy

Replied

S.C.B.

25.6.25

34 Theatre Road

Calcutta

15.6.25

My dear Subhas,

Could you send me Russel's "Prospects of Industrial Civilization" and "Free Thought and Official Propaganda" now? I need them badly inasmuch as I am going to write a long article about Bertrand Russel and his Philosophy.

Please let me know also—you may let me have this information in a letter written to any of your brothers if you have received the following books, I sent a week or two ago as also the long letter I wrote in reply to yours:

- 1) Romain Rolland by Stephen Zweig
- 2) Atonement by Thomson
- 3) Brothers Karamazov by Dostoievsky
- 4) The Coming Race by Nalini Gupta
- 5) Smoke by Turgenev

With love,

Yours affectionately
DILIP (KUMAR ROY)

128. To The Superintendent
Mandalay Jail.

Mandalay Jail

1.1.26

Re-winter clothing we repeat our representation made on 13.11.25. Re—summer clothing etc. we shall submit a list by the end of January or the beginning of February, which will enable us to carry on till August next. We may however submit the list sooner if so desired—but we think it would be better to settle the question of winter clothing first.

S. C. BOSE

129. From Janakinath Bose

38/2 Elgin Road

4th January 1926

My dear Subhas,

I duly received your last letter and am glad to know that you are doing well.

I came here on the 22nd of December and shall leave for Cuttack tonight.

Your mother shall remain here for some time to come—she is pretty well.

Aruna's marriage will be celebrated about the middle of Falgun next—she will be married to the 3rd brother of Parash the ভনীপতি (sister's husband) of Ramapati.

Nothing has been as yet settled about the marriage of Dolly's daughters.

We are all doing well. Trust this will find you in good health.

Yours v. affly

J. N. BOSE

130. To Janakinath Bose

Mandalay
8.3.26
MondayCensored and Passed
Illegible
15/3/26
for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.
Bengal

My dear father,

You are aware by now that we broke fast on the 4th inst. All of us are weak but are otherwise well. It will no doubt take us some time to regain our former strength.

During the strike I wired to *Mejdada* asking him if I would send daily reports regarding my health to you. He wired back saying that he was sending daily reports on receipt of the daily telegraphic reports from here. I did not therefore send by telegraphic reports to you direct. I hope you were kept informed about the developments here.

I am sorry to learn that Aruna's marriage negotiations have broken off.

It is getting warm here gradually.

I am anxious to know how you all are doing. Where do you intend to spend the summer?

Yours v. affly
SUBHAS

P.S.

Rangamamababu is here now. I shall have my last interview with him today. He will leave this afternoon for Rangoon and take Tuesday's boat for Calcutta.

SUBHAS

P.P.S.

I have received sample of *Sejdada's* combs and matches. They are very good indeed.

SUBHAS

131. To The Inspector General of Prisons,
Burma.Mandalay Jail
8.1.26

Dear Sir,

It has been my sad experience in the past that complaints regarding health made by detenus are not always taken seriously by the authorities concerned and for this reason I was reluctant to say anything regarding the state of my health. But on mature consideration I have thought it desirable to place on record what I have to say regarding my health.

I was conducted to prison in October 1924 practically straight from my bed after a severe attack of malaria and I have to spend the period of convalescence in Jail. Nevertheless I was in perfect health as long as I was in a Bengal Jail. I did not have any relapse and whereas after the illness I weighed 168 lbs, I steadily regained my former health during the 3 months that I was in Bengal. When I left Bengal towards the end of January 1925 I had been restored to my former health and weight and weighed 183 lbs. How my health has steadily declined will be clear from the fact that my weight has gradually dropped to 161 lbs during the period of my stay here.

Since my arrival here I have been suffering continuously from dyspepsia. This has been accompanied by pain in the spine, insomnia and general lassitude. A strong disinclination for physical and mental exertion due probably to weakness has made it practically impossible for me to do any serious intellectual work. I may mention here that I am normally a very hard worker and both physically and intellectually I am accustomed to put in 14 hours' brain work a day without any difficulty.

Captain Smith who was the first Superintendent I met, prescribed a tonic for me to aid digestion and to serve as a stimulant and kruschen salts and thodmal to cure the pain in the spine. His treatment effected some improvement though not much. When Major Findlay came he proceeded

in the same lines, but he prescribed stophan in place of thodmal and kruschen salts. The pain in the spine went down but after some time it reappeared. The other symptoms, viz, indisgetion, general lassitude and insomnia remained.

In November I decided to go in for Ayurvedic treatment and I wrote to my old Kaviraj who knows everything about my health to take up my treatment. Not knowing what the attitude of the Govt. would be, I did not ask the Govt. to pay the expenses of my treatment, particularly as I was anxious not to run any risk of courting insult by getting a refusal. I have been following Ayurvedic treatment for a month or so and it is too early to say how far it will benefit me.

I realise the difficulty of treating a patient from such a distance but I am ready to give up Ayurvedic treatment if you are prepared to take charge of my treatment.

In conclusion, I must say that I am painfully aware that unless there is imminent danger of life it is useless to expect the local authorities to move in the matter. I would however say that as we are men of culture not mere convicts, the requirements of our minds should be considered as important as those of our body. Prolonged detention in a place like Mandalay, which does not agree with my health in the midst of monotonous surroundings is bound to cut short my future career and impair my usefulness or abilities even if it does not involve an imminent danger of life. If the object of Govt. is this—trying me in a court of law to penalize me—I have nothing to say.

I am

Yours faithfully
S. C. BOSE

132. To Sarat Chandra Bose

Censored and Passed
Illegible
for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.
Bengal
27/1/26

Mandalay
16.1.26

My dear brother,

I have not heard from you for some time past. Your last letter was dated the 25th Dec., I think.

How did you enjoy your trip to Upper India? What are your impressions of Cawnpur? I hear that Pandit Motilal is very seriously ill and that he will be going abroad for reasons of health. Is this true?

How do you find the cold there this winter? We are having some trouble about the sanction of money for the Saraswati Puja. We have sent a representation to Govt. and are awaiting the result.

Hope this will find you all quite well. Capt. Smith is back here as Supdt. The Inspector General of Prisons of Burma was here the other day and we told him that we wanted to be transferred to some hill station in Burma during summer if we had to spend another year in this country. He has not given his answer yet. Nothing more to write. I am so so.

Yours v. affly
SUBHAS

To

S. C. Bose Esq.
38/1 Elgin Road
Calcutta.

133. To Sarat Chandra Bose

Censored and Passed
 Illegible
 1/2/26
 for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.
 Bengal

Mandalay
 23.1.26

My dear brother,

I was glad to receive your letter of the 14th instant and to learn that you enjoyed your upcountry trip.

Please ask Gopali to search for my pair of spectacles and to send me Myers' *Experimental Psychology*—2 vols. The spectacles may be sent direct and the books to Elysium Row as that would save trouble. Other books on Psychology in my library may be sent but I want Myers' in any case.

It is alarming to learn that malaria is raging in practically an epidemic form all over the town. It is very easy to combat malaria with the resources at our command and I see no reason why the department concerned should not be up and doing.

I am sorry to hear of Mrs. Das. I feel so anxious to see her at times. God alone knows when I shall be able. May He grant her strength to bear her misfortunes and troubles.

We celebrated the Saraswati Puja and met the expenses provisionally from our own pocket. We have however asked Govt. to pay the expenses and shall continue to represent the matter. Kaviraji medicine has done me some good, though I am still losing weight. I now weigh 159 lbs. I do not however know whether the effect of Kaviraji medicine will be lasting.

I am glad to hear that the work in Kodalia is progressing.

Please inform the Book Company that in sending Nietzsche's works, they have, through oversight, sent me 2 copies of the same volume. The oversight is due to the fact that they sent the works in several instalments. Shall I return the extra copy by post or keep it with me till my

return to Bengal? I think I better return the extra copy, so that they may be able to dispose it if they get a purchaser.

I have nothing more to write this mail. Hope this will find you all quite well.

Yours v. affly
 SUBHAS

P.S. I want also Dr. Revers' *Instinct and the Unconscious*.
 S.C.B.

S. C. Bose Esq.
 38/1, Elgin Road
 Calcutta.

134. From Sarat Chandra Bose

3/1, Elgin Road
 8th Feby.'26.

Censored and Passed
 Illegible
 9/2/26
 for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.
 Bengal

My dear Subhas,

Your letters of the 16th and the 23rd Jany. came in duly.

We enjoyed our trip to Upper India very much indeed. In going to write about Upper India, I wrote Upper Burma. I hope I won't have to take an enforced trip to Upper Burma.

I left Cawnpore the day that Mrs. Sarojini Naidu delivered her speech. Her impassioned oratory created a great impression. I doubt whether I have heard anything like it before. The scene inside the pandal was also unique. And if anything was wanting in the way of enthusiasm, it was supplied by the presence of the South African deputation.

The report you have heard about Pandit Motilal's illness is not true. He is quite all right and is leading the Assembly

as before. Goswami is daily making his presence felt at the Assembly and I do not think the day is far distant when he will lead there.

I was glad to learn that you had celebrated the Saraswati Puja. How much did your expenses amount to?

I am at a loss to understand the reason of your losing weight. There must be something wrong in the atmosphere of jails there. It is a fact that persons detained there have caught some sort of bacilli infection inside the jails. Couldn't you have your blood examined there once? Also the urine?

Yes, I have also noticed that the Book Company have sent you 2 copies of vol 3 of Nietzsche's works. I had to pay the bill the other day and it was then that I noticed it. I have written to Girin Mitter about it. I don't think you need return the copy immediately. If Girin wants it back now, I shall write to you.

I shall send you the other books you want as early as possible.

You were right in telling the Inspector General of Prisons that in Summer time you ought to be sent to some hill station. People who usually go for change to hill stations have a right to demand that in Summer time they should be sent to some hill station. I wonder if the authorities would agree to send you to Kurseong (I mean to our own house there) during Summer time and keep you there under such escort as they may think necessary.

So long today. This leaves us well.

Yours very affly

SARAT

Subhas C. Bose, Esq.

135. To Basanti Devi*

Censored and Passed

Illegible

1/2/26

for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.

Bengal

Mandalay Jail

(C/o, D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.)

Bengal

13 Elysium Row Calcutta)

23.1.26

Revered mother,

I have not had any news of you for a long time. Mejdada wrote about you in his letter that reached me two or three days ago. I have been wanting to write to you for quite some time—not just for the purpose of getting an answer, although to hear from you will make me happy beyond measure. The real reason is that writing to you might probably lighten my mind. I wrote to Mr. Halidar a few days ago for your news. He replied to me but unfortunately the letter was withheld by the Police Department. I wonder why I feel so restless to have your news.

Some time ago I felt like applying to the Government for permission to see you once. State prisoners are allowed interviews with relations—I even know of instances when people from home have been permitted to come for five or seven days at a stretch. I thought over the matter and came to the conclusion that there was no point in applying because there was no hope that I would have the good luck. Making the request would lead to nothing—I would only earn more mental anxiety and would be taking part in a meaningless protest against the present order of things. So, after a lot of deliberation I have banished the idea from my mind.

I was extremely anxious to learn that you were feeling very weak and your health was in a very poor state. What

* Translated from the original Bengali.

can I do ! We are too helpless to do anything at all. And who knows what is in store for us ? I wish to say so much—there is so much to say—but the time for that has not come as yet. I sat down to write even this letter after much hesitation—because it will pass through other hands. I read your message to the Congress in the newspapers. I can hardly express in words how deeply I was touched by those words full of kindness and pathos. Man cannot but feel grateful to a person who weeps over other people's woes in total disregard of her own immeasurable grief and sorrows. If somebody else sent such a message I would feel grateful and express my gratitude—but in the present case it is not necessary to express one's gratitude, because our relations do not warrant it. If our countrymen did not know of the largeness of your heart, would they call you their "mother" ? Is it not impossible to express gratitude to one whom he calls his mother ? Only a mother's heart feels so keenly for her children, nobody else's does. To express gratitude is an affront to the sacred relationship between a mother and her child. I hope you will not forget, even in the midst of all your misfortune and grief, that innumerable sons of Bengal have accepted you as their "mother". In spite of being poor and helpless, they have made your misfortune their own.

All of us, your countrymen, will today learn from your example of patience and fortitude. If you can bear so much, cannot we take a fraction of that ? Bless us so that however great may be the obstacles on our way, we may be given the strength to face them. By the grace of Providence I have so far been granted this strength—my only prayer in life is that I may always have this strength. Mother, let me end here today.

What more can I write ? I do not know where I started and how I have ended.

Devotedly yours
SUBHAS

Srijukta Basanti Devi
c/o. Mr. Justice P. R. Das
Patna

136. *To The Chief Secretary
to the Govt. of Burma*

Mandalay
2.2.26

Re—Allowance for religious ceremonies.

Dear Sir,

We beg to draw your attention to a representation. We submitted to you dated the 16th January 1926, regarding allowance for the Saraswati Puja to which no reply has yet been received by us.

We have already requested the Inspector General of Prisons that there are three important religious ceremonies which we have to perform here (viz the Saraswati Puja, the Holi and Dol Purnima Festival and the Durga Puja) and that we expect Govt. to sanction the expenditure in connection with those ceremonies. The expenses of the Saraswati Puja which we performed about a fortnight ago came up to Rs. 76/9. The expenditure in connection with the Holi festival which takes place on the 26th February next and two succeeding days will be somewhat higher than that of the Saraswati Puja but will not exceed Rs. 100/-. We request sanction to the expenditure in connection with the Saraswati Puja and the Holi festival.

It would not be out of place here to mention that in the Alipore Central Jail a sum of Rs. 1200/- per annum is spent for the Christian convicts in connection with their religious worship (vide report Indian Jail Committee 1919-20 vol III page 744). We have already referred to the facilities granted to convicts in Bengal Jails at Govt. cost for their religious observances as well as to detenus on several occasions in the past. We hope you will be able to conclude therefore what facilities at Govt. cost should be granted to persons detained in Burma Jails.

Now that the power of sanctioning allowance lies in the hands of the Burma Govt. we hope there will not be any delay in receiving a reply. As the preparations for the Holi

Festival will take some time, we would like to have a reply by the middle of this month.

We are, sir,

Yours faithfully

sd/ S.C.B.

S.C.M.

T.C.C.

B.B.G.

M.M.B.

M.M.G.

S.S.C.

J.L.C.

137. To Hari Charan Bagchi*

Mandalay Jail

6.2.26.

I duly received your letter. Please do not mind the delay in my replying to it. I hope you will overcome all mental worries and carry on with your duties in a cheerful frame of mind. Milton said—"The mind is its own place and can make a hell of heaven and a heaven of hell." It is of course not always possible to act up to this, but without having an ideal all the time before us, it is quite impossible to make progress in life. Life is not under any circumstances free of troubles—this we cannot afford to forget.

I no longer worry about my release. Neither should you. By the grace of God I have mental peace now. I feel I have gathered enough strength to be able to spend my whole life here. My good wishes are not of any avail—my only prayer is that the good wishes and blessings of the Universal Mother may always protect you like a shield. What can I write? Have faith and trust in the Universal Mother; by Her grace you will successfully come through all adversity and illusions. Even after all external want has

* Translated from the original Bengali.

been met, man cannot attain happiness without inner peace and satisfaction. So, while fulfilling all your worldly commitments, you must dedicate your soul at the feet of the Universal Mother. So long.

138. To Sarat Chandra Bose

Censored and Passed

Illegible

19/2/26

for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.

Bengal

Mandalay

6.2.26.

My dear brother,

I have not written to you last week I think. I am glad to know that you enjoyed your trip to U.P. The results of the Council of State election, though they were a foregone conclusion, are a source of great satisfaction.

I am anxious to hear that Mrs. Das is in poor health.

It should cause anxiety all round to learn that malaria is raising its head all over Calcutta. A malaria epidemic undermines vitality and prepares the way for tuberculosis. I think the mosquito brigade should be reconstituted by the Health Dept. and an intensive campaign against malaria should be started.

Kaviraji did me some good for about 2 months and my weight remained steady at 161 lbs. for some time. After I wrote to you last, my digestive system has again been upset. I have not been able to discover the reason. I was thinking of discontinuing medicine for some time for fear of becoming over-medicated and I wrote to Kaviraj Mahasay to that effect but I now find that I should change the medicine & continue it. Accordingly I am writing to Kaviraj Mahasay about it today. I have tried different kinds of diet to see if any would suit me, but I have not succeeded so far. In the meantime my weight has gone down to 156 lbs. The Inspector General of Prisons was here in January and made

enquiries about my health and other matters. Following him, Mr. Patterson, the Commissioner of Prisons, England who is now in Burma in connection with the Borstal system also paid us a visit and enquired into our complaints.

I am glad to know that the work in Kodalia is progressing favourably. Is the same doctor in charge? How is he getting on? I don't know if I have written to you that we have been informed by Govt. that after the annual revision, it has been decided by them that the order of detention under the Criminal Law Amendment Act should continue.

We have performed the Saraswati Puja and have advanced money for the expenses from our own purse for the present. We have made a representation to Govt. asking for a grant which will enable us to recoup the expenditure and have also asked for a grant for the Dol Purnima Festival which is at hand. The accounts of the Durga Puja have not yet been squared up and Government want us to refund Rs. 560/- from our own allowances. The matter is however, still under consideration and we are awaiting the result.

Has anybody been attempting the biography of Deshbandhu—besides Hemendra Babu. Has Mr. Prithwis carried out his resolve? I was reading in the papers some time back that there was a suggestion from the Madras side that Mr. Goswami should take up the work.

Is the art-critic Mr. O. C. Ganguli the same person as the attorney of the same name? If so, he must be a man of versatile talents.

Could you ask the Book Company to send me their latest catalogue if they have any?

Hope this will find you all quite well. I am glad—in fact surprised as well—to know that Asoke has become a good spinner. I am so so.

Yours v. affly

SUBHAS

C. Bose Esq.
38/1, Elgin Road,
Calcutta.

139. From Sarat Chandra Bose

38/1, Elgin Road
22.2.26.

My dear Subhas,

Your letter of the 6th instant came in yesterday. I can't understand why it took 15 days this time for the letter to reach me.

Mrs. Das is somewhat better now. Bhombal is also at Patna and is quiet now....

Malaria is raging all over Calcutta but I do not expect that anything will be done under J. C. Mukherji's regime to combat it. J. C. Mukherji is hopeless, I am sorry to say.

I think you should continue Kaviraji medicines for some time yet. You will have to stop them as soon as the hot weather gets in there. Is it still cold there?

Did the Inspector General of Prisons and Mr. Patterson make real and bona fide enquiries about the detenus there or was it just the sort of official visit that precedes a Govt. communique?

Kodalia village work is progressing satisfactorily. The same doctor is in charge.

No, you did not inform me before that you had been informed that Govt. had decided to continue the detention. When was that order communicated to you? Was it in writing?

Have you heard anything more from Govt. about Durga Puja and Saraswati Puja expenses? I am surprised to learn that Govt. has asked you to refund Rs. 560/- paid by the jail office for the Durga Puja expenses. I do not know what other developments took place in the course of the last few days regarding the Puja expenses but I apprehend that you came to grips with the authorities there; for I find from newer news that you have been most anxious for news and have in fact

asked Mr. Armstrong for news, but I don't know if any will be vouchsafed to me.

In my last letter I believe I told you that you needn't return Nietzsche's Works Vol. III. It struck me however,

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day before yesterday, that I had better return the book to the Book Coy. So will you please return me the book at your earliest convenience?

This leaves us well. I hope and pray that the blessings of the Lord will be always on you.

Yours very affly
SARAT

140. To Sarat Chandra Bose

Mandalay Jail
7.2.26.

Censored and Passed

Illegible

16/2

for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.

Bengal

My dear brother,

I am informed that *Chotodada* will be here on Wednesday or Thursday next. I do not know whether the interview would be held here or at Rangoon. It would be desirable from one point of view to go to Rangoon—though I do not like the place—as Col. Kelsall who examined me formerly will be there and there can be a consultation there.

I understand that the Committee has recommended disciplinary action against the Deputy Mayor. I am pained to learn that. Why rake the dying embers? I hope the Corporation will take a broad-minded view—especially as the present Corporation is going to be dissolved.

My weight has dropped to 138 lbs. (one hundred and thirtyeight). Other symptoms are much the same.

Hope this will find you all quite well.

We have been informed that the order of detention under the Ordinance will remain in force even after the lapse of 2 years from January, 1925.

Yours v. affly
SUBHAS

141. To The Superintendent
Mandalay Jail.

Mandalay Jail
9.2.26

Dear Sir,

In connection with the complaint we made to the Deputy Commissioner this morning, I am sending herewith for his (D.C.'s) use—copies of two representations we have sent to the Chief Secretary relating to the puja question. I shall be obliged if you kindly forward the same to him as early as possible—today if possible.

Yours faithfully,
S. C. BOSE

142. To The Deputy Commissioner
Mandalay

Mandalay Jail
9.2.26

Dear Sir,

I am sending herewith copies of two representations we have sent to the Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Burma on 16.1.26 and 2.2.26 in connection with the Puja question. They summarise most of the facts and arguments we have on our side and are relevant to the complaint we made to you this morning.

Yours faithfully
S. C. BOSE
(On behalf of the detenus)

142A. From Bivabati Bose*

38/2 Elgin Road

19.1.26

Wednesday

Censored and passed

Mother Durga be with us

Chotodada,

I received your letter written on 19th December (1925) on the 8th of this month (January). Now let me write something about the way we are working with the spinning wheels. When I sent you a panjabi, I did not mention then who spun the yarn used to make that panjabi. Now I can tell you that it contains yarns spun by myself, Asoke and my maidservant. None is practising spinning there in the other house, though some time ago, Didi and Aruna used to spin and some yarn was thus made. It appears nothing has been woven as yet with those yarns. We have been able to make a stock of yarn, spun by us and this time I would like to have a dhoti made out of those yarns. Among all the persons of our house who spin, the best yarn is spun by Asoke, but nowadays he is not spinning much and neglecting this work. I too do not spin much though I do a little. After we got your letter, Aruna has taken care to spin a little. Gora does not spin at all. This time I am going to send you a piece of cloth which I got woven by the Sevak Samiti with the help of Haricharanbabu. Though we cannot claim that we have much enthusiasm for spinning yet I hope that we are not going to totally stop it. *Shejodidimoni* nowadays does not spin.

Sarada is well and she often talks about you. Sarada is now serving as the nurse of the children of *Shejodidimoni* and I think you remember one of the children called Rabi. Sarada spends the whole day taking care of them and now-

* Translated from the original Bengali.

adays she does not like much goats or cats. Shova is now quite well.

You have now acquired the power to withstand the pains and pleasure of a life inside the jail and so you are, to a great extent, at peace with yourself. As we are not capable of acquiring that power, we feel so much depressed when we think that you are living behind the prison bars. All that happens, happens due to the will of God and God does everything with a supreme aim which we human beings with our little intelligence are incapable of fathoming. Yet God gives everybody the power to put up with circumstances under which He places him and to find happiness in it. Had it been otherwise a lot of people would have gone mad. All these thoughts come to me yet I cannot maintain them for long and other thoughts come and overwhelm me. To have this kind of faith permanently is a very difficult thing for persons like us. Four or five lines of your letter unfortunately could not be deciphered as they were struck out thoroughly. I have told Kanak about you and as a matter of fact whenever we receive a letter from you we all gather together to read it.

Is there any need for sending *Vijaya Pronam* to me specially? Why should I be angry for it? I am not really worthy of getting pronam from you. Yet socially and formally you have got to do it and I have got to accept it. Here the children performed Saraswati Puja and on that occasion I only thought when it would be possible for you to be present among us on such occasions. Anyway, the children had quite a good time during those two days.

I think it is rather fortunate that after all the idea of keeping pigeons as pets has been dropped because pigeons make the house very dirty. What about your kitchen garden? Surely, you are enjoying eating the vegetables grown in your kitchen-garden. Do the flowers talk to you? Are they quite hot-tempered? It is really bad on their part to disturb a gentleman like that.

What about the fellow Shyamlal? Has he been given any new title? How many titles has he got? What kind of work does Yanka do for you? I have heard that for you

all inside the prison, Bengalee servants have been appointed and if that be the case, how and where from could that strange creature appear before you? I hope that fellow is feeding himself well and is quite happy.

I think you have most probably heard that we attended the Congress Conference at Kanpur. There, I liked much the speech delivered by Sorojini Naidu. The problem is—are we capable of doing works as she expected of us?

How is your health and are you still taking Kaviraji medicine? How many persons of your group are still there? I think winter is over there at your place. As soon as summer comes, your health deteriorates. Mother is here now. We are all well here. Father is keeping well.

Have you heard that Aruna's marriage had been arranged? Probably the marriage will be organised in the month of Falgun. I hope that all of you are well there. My *pronams* to them all and accept my heart-felt affection.

Yours affectionately,
Mejobowdi
(BIVABATI BOSE)

143. To Bivabati Bose*

Mother Durga be with us!

Mandalay Jail
12.2.26.

My dear Mejobowdidi,

I received your letter quite some time ago. I was delighted to learn that Asoke had picked up spinning so well. I cannot say that I was not surprised. The fact is that spinning is so easy that I think even very young children, given the training, should be able to do it. In Assam there is a social custom that marriageable girls must be able to spin well—just as amongst us, sound knowledge of the culinary art is a social asset. Why do not Gora, Aruna and others spin? They must be having enough leisure. I

* Translated from the original Bengali.

think if one even for once sees a piece of cloth made out of his own hand-spun yarn, he will feel greatly enthused about spinning. Just as one's own cooking is bound to taste good, clothing made out of one's own yarn is bound to please.

By the grace of God almost all my letters nowadays reach their destination with a number of lines cut out. You probably realise the implication of this.

Even before your last letter arrived, pigeons had established themselves here. Unfortunately one pigeon has already been swallowed up by a tom cat. A Court was assembled to try the cat. By offering food and laying a trap in the night, the cat was arrested. At first, it was suggested that the cat should be hanged. This followed from the practice that man is hanged for murder. Thereupon it was proposed that as nobody had anything to gain by hanging the cat, there should rather be a cat feast. In this country there are some people who do not mind eating cats in times of want—and there are some convicts here who belong to that category. One gentleman proposed that as fish and meat were scarcely available for convicts, if a cat was offered to them they might be prepared to cook it and eat it. Ultimately and suddenly, Vaishnavic feelings got the better of everybody and orders were passed to throw the cat into a gunny bag and send him to the wilderness.

After nearly a month of hatching by the hens, chicks appeared. Yanka was in charge of looking after the chicken. From the very beginning Yanka the Great started pinching eggs. When five or six eggs were produced, only two or three reached the cupboard. The rest, thanks to him, vanished. The day he was caught, he wore a blank face. He is only seventyone years old but his appetite is insatiable. Many are of the opinion that he is an incarnate of Lord Bholanath; because his tummy resembles Mahadev's. Thanks to Yanka, chicks were dying everyday. Their number was reduced from ten or twelve to three. These are still alive and are expected to survive. One day owing to his negligence a hawk swooped down and carried a chick away. The next morning when the loss was discovered, Yanka, putting on an expression of innocence, said:

"Museetu", that is to say, "There was no such chick." After being taken severely to task, he admitted what really happened.

Nevertheless, Yanka is not a bad fellow after all. It is his faith that gastronomy is the highest truth in this world. "Tasmin tushte jagat tushtam," that is to say—if you keep your appetite satisfied, all else in this world will be satisfied. And he will not recoil from anything in order to keep his tummy satisfied. He can recite Buddhist hymns very well in the Burmese language. I have learnt such hymns from him orally. I shall recite these hymns to you all when I am back home.

Four convicts were brought over from Bengal to this jail to serve us. But only one of them is any good. He is in charge of the kitchen. One meets so many kinds of people here—this is both entertaining and educative.

Kaviraji medicines did me a lot of good for nearly two months. I am not feeling so comfortable now and medicines should probably be changed. It has also started warming up. Anyway, I feel sure we shall somehow pull through all this. Please preserve my letters and also ask *Mejdada* to do the same.

I hope all is well at home. I am writing to *Mejdada* to engage teachers in drawing and music for the children. I do not know how he feels about the matter—but I miss these two things in my own life. So, if children get the proper kind of education I shall feel happy.

We also performed Saraswati Puja here. We are having trouble with the authorities over the puja expenses. Government have not yet paid the money on account of Durga and Saraswati Pujas. I am enclosing some papers from which you will see that the power to sanction expenditure on our account rests with the Bengal Government—not with the Burma Government. Burma Government say that such expenditure should be met by Bengal Government while it was declared in the Bengal Council on behalf of the government that the necessary expenditure would have to be sanctioned by the Burma Government. You will be convinced by going through these papers that it is the Bengal

Government that has refused to sanction the expenses. I am sending with the papers copies of two representations. We have submitted these representations to the Burma Government.

Yours
SUBHAS

144. To Sarat Chandra Bose

Censored and Passed

Illegible

27/2/26

for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.

Bengal

Mandalay
14.2.26.

My dear brother,

I have not heard from you for some time past. I hope however that you are all doing well.

I wrote to Kaviraj mahasay some time ago saying that I wanted to discontinue medicine for a certain period for fear of becoming over-medicated. After writing to him, my digestion began to get worse—probably because it was getting warm again. So I wrote to him again asking him to send me some medicine but to alter the old prescription as it would not do me any good. I have in the meantime stopped the old medicine for about a fortnight. I had myself weighed this morning—I am now 155 lbs. You need not, however, be anxious for me.

When is Aruna's marriage coming off? Has *Sejdidi* been able to arrange about Gora's marriage? How is *Dada*? I am glad to learn that Bankudada is now doing better. Why doesn't he go to the hills—to Kurseong, for instance? I have written to *Sejdada* asking him to send me a sample of his combs. Gopali is, I think, busy in preparing for his examination. Is Sati cycling down to his school now or does he go by train? It is a long way if he has to cycle to and back from school. I was suggesting to *Rangamamababu* when he came here that he may live in a hostel during week days and come back home for the weekned. The

danger of course is that he may get malaria as the place has not become healthy yet.

I think it would be advisable to have a badminton court at 38/1 for the children, otherwise they will not have plenty of exercise. Each successive generation of town dwellers tends to deteriorate in physique and special efforts have to be made to maintain the standard of the parents or to improve upon it. I have been studying some up-to-date books on physical efficiency and national welfare and my eyes have been somewhat opened to the profound neglect and indifference we display in the matter of physical development. I find from personal experience that badminton is a good game. For those much younger than myself, it is sure to afford tremendous exercise when played in singles and recreation when played in doubles, I hope you will give the matter your consideration.

Hope this will find you all quite well. I am so so.

S. C. Bose Esq.
38/1 Elgin Road
Calcutta.

Yours very affly
SUBHAS

145. To Captain Smith

Mandalay
16.2.26

Urgent & confidential

Dear Captain Smith,

I have placed the matter before my friends and have stated the pros and cons. It would be advisable to have a talk with all of them. Could you please come round at your convenience, or shall we come over?

Yours Sincerely
S. C. BOSE

Capt. Smith
Superintendent
Mandalay Jail

146. To The Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Burma
Through the Superintendent of the Jails, Mandalay
Dated, Mandalay, the 16th February, 1926

Dear Sir,

We are sorry that we have received no satisfactory reply to our representation of the 16th January and the 2nd February, 1926. Neither has the question of the last Durga Puja been yet settled to our satisfaction, though six months have elapsed. Under the circumstances we are constrained to think that the Govt. of Burma have adopted a *non possu-mus* attitude. We venture to maintain, on the other hand, that our attitude has throughout been entirely reasonable and we have no doubt that the local authorities, viz., the superintendent of the jail and the Deputy Commissioner, will bear this out. Opposed as we are to a mendicant policy in the domain of politics, we have nevertheless tried all so-called constitutional means within our power in order to impress on the Govt. the justice of the case. We have sent in representation after representation, we have placed our grievances before the visitors appointed by the Govt. official and non-official and we have personally laid matters before the Inspector General of Prisons, all our efforts have been of no avail.

We have already made it clear that we look up to this Govt. to deal finally with the question of our allowances. The statement made by Sir Hugh Stephenson, Home member to the Bengal Govt., before the Bengal Legislative Council on the 11th December 1925, leaves no room for ambiguity regarding the responsibility of this Government. In our representation dated the 16th January, 1926, we quoted a relevant extract from that speech, as it appears in the official proceedings published by the Bengal Govt. and we would like to invite your attention to it again. So long as there is no public contradiction from the Burma Govt., the public statement of Sir Hugh Stephenson must be taken as correct and we take our stand on it.

By failing to meet our religious demands your Govt. have shown a lamentable ignorance of the religious instincts

of the Indian people and of their past and present history. To us orientals, religion is neither a social convention nor an intellectual luxury nor a holiday recreation. It is life itself. Religion is woven into the very texture of our daily and social life and it permeates our whole being—individual and national. For good or for ill we attach more value to matters spiritual than to things of the Earth earthy. And it is on this basis that our philosophy of values—social and moral—has been worked out. Members of a subject race we unfortunately are—servile in many respects we may be, but even the might of Britain has got to take cognizance of the values which the people of India hold dear. The pages of Indian history teem with the undying examples of martyrs who suffered and died for the sake of their religious beliefs. They died so that India may live. And in spite of our misery and degradation, India still lives. She lives because her soul is immortal—her soul is immortal because she believes in religion. We have lost much. Political freedom is no more. Economic independence is a thing of the past—even our national culture is being daily undermined by the subtle policy of peaceful penetration. But we still have our religion. We still claim the right to worship our God after the fashion of our glorious ancestors, and we shall sooner cease to exist than succumb to the religious domination of the West.

The action or rather the inaction of your Government constitutes an unwarranted interference with our religious rights. It militates against the spirit of the Queen's Proclamation which promises liberty of worship to the different religions and sections in India. Further—and this is of much greater import—it is a violation of God's Law, as we understand it. Spending Rs. 1200/- per annum for the religious worship of a few Christian criminals lodged in the Alipore Central Jail—and refusing to sanction a pie for the religious ceremonies of Hindu detenus of high education and culture—is not this, Sir, an outrage on justice and fair play? To an European Christian, a Hindu may be a heathen, his religion may be taboo. And it may not be a moral duty to provide facilities for his worship. But we belong to a

religion which not only believes in universal toleration but accepts all religions as true and we consequently maintain that the infringement of religious rights of any community is a violation of God's Law.

We do not know, Sir, if you or the members of your Government would be tempted to smile a cynical, half contemptuous smile at our reference to laws divine. We shall not be surprised if you do so. Secularism and its offspring cynicism have well-nigh crushed out of existence the soul of Europe. But there was a time when Europe did believe in religion. She had not then become drunk with the wine of power or maddened with the lust of loot—and she had not substituted the theory of Nordic supremacy for the Christian doctrine of the equality and brotherhood of men. In that golden age her fulfilment consisted in serving God, not mammon; in living a Christian life, not in piling up dollars. She found greater enjoyment in worshipping her God than in plundering her neighbours; and she was too absorbed in fighting her religious wars to think of forcing her yoke on the less worldly-minded nations of the East. The sufferings of the crusaders in Palestine, of Puritans in Britain, of the Catholics in Ireland and of the Huguenots on the continent light up with an undying halo the history of that glorious era. The zealous Puritans in those days braved with their frail barks the terror of the unknown seas and of the unknown continent beyond, rather than give up their faith and the saintly martyr Latimer while being bound to the stake shouted to a fellow-sufferer as the flames leapt up "Be of good cheer, master Ridley, play the man, we shall this day light such a candle in England as I trust, by God's Grace, shall never be put out again."

But those days are gone—we know that to our cost. The materialistic organization of the west is today sitting like a nightmare on India's bosom. Plassey and Assaye, Lancashire and Leeds, Bentham and J. S. Mill, have done their best to wean us away from our culture, civilization and past heritage. They have failed. From the ashes of the dead past India is again rising phoenix-like to take her

place among the free nations of the world, so that she may deliver her message, the message of the spirit, and thereby fulfil her mission on earth. India lives today because she still has a mission unfulfilled. For no other reason has she survived the onslaughts of time. Civilizations have risen and fallen, empires have grown and have melted away into thin air; Babylon and Nineveh, Carthage and Greece have crumbled into dust. But Indian culture is as potent a factor today as it was thousands of years ago when some of the foremost nations of the modern world were no better than savages. And do you think, Sir, that the people who have suffered so much and braved so much throughout their whole history will obsequiously acquiesce in an arbitrary infringement of their religious rights? We hope against hope that the lessons of the war of 1857 and of the Akali and Tarakeswar Satyagraha movements of yesterday have not been altogether lost on this Govt.

We are fully conscious of the fact that no rights, whether political or religious, can be wrested from an unwilling bureaucracy except by suffering and sacrifice. The dearer the rights, the higher is the price bound to be. Today it has pleased God to make us the instruments through whom the price of religious liberty is to be paid. We do not grudge the sacrifice, neither do we shrink from the ordeal; on the contrary, we rejoice at it. There are occasions in the history of a people when vicarious suffering becomes a divinely ordained duty and the present is one of these occasions. In Europe as in Asia, in England as in India, the blood of the martyr has been the seed of the church. We are not so presumptuous as to call ourselves martyrs but it may be the will of Providence that we should, with our humble equipment, prepare the way for the martyrs who are to come. India is determined to retain her religious liberty at any sacrifice. Whether needless suffering and avoidable sacrifice should be undergone before our rights are recognized, is for this Govt. to decide. But let us state unequivocally that the responsibility for it rests entirely with the Govt. and in the case of any untoward event, our blood will be on Government's head.

In spite of our incarceration and our segregation, we believe we are not altogether helpless. Helpless no doubt we are for the time being before the mailed fist of the bureaucracy—but as the late Lokamanya Tilak once said in his inspired language, “there are higher powers that rule the destiny of things”. Before those powers even the might of Britannia will have to quail. In a remote corner of Mandalay Jail our bodies, to be sure, are entirely at your mercy—but within stone walls even if we are bound by chains, our souls are and shall remain free. And who can muzzle up for ever the voice of Truth? Over hills and dales and across the high seas the muffled voice will be wafted by the winds till it reaches the shores of India. We have our people, our friends, our well-wishers. We claim to command the goodwill and confidence of our fellow countrymen. We can rest assured that if it be necessary for us to die here, we shall not perish “unwept, unhonoured and unsung”. On the contrary, we shall die happy in the thought that the cause we represent shall be safe in the hands of our countrymen, that the people of India will carry on the grim struggle for liberty to a successful issue. And then morning will dawn, peace will be established, India will be once more mistress of her own destiny as she was in days of yore when the whole world looked to her for light.

Our object in writing to you at such length is to acquaint you with the thoughts and feelings which are now uppermost in our minds and which do not ordinarily find expression through official channels. The utterly unreasonable and uncompromising attitude of your Government has left us no other alternative and for the vindication of our religious rights as well as the redress of several long-standing grievances, we are being compelled to adopt the only honourable course open to persons in our position. We have accordingly resolved to commence hunger strike on Thursday, the 18th Feb, 1926.

May God help us.

We have the honour to be Sir
your most obedient servants,

JIBANLAL CHATTERJEE
SATYENDRA CHANDRA MITRA
TRAILOKYANATH CHAKRAVORTY
SATISH CHANDRA CHAKRAVORTY
BIPIN BEHARI GANGULY
SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSH
MADAN MOHAN BHOWMICK
SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

147. *From Sarat Chandra Bose*

Censored and Passed
Illegible
for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.
Bengal

38/1, Elgin Road
1st March, 1926.

My dear Subhas,

Your letter dated the 14th Feby. was delivered to me on the 27th Feby.

I was sorry to learn that your weight had gone down further. I have not told parents anything about it as that would make them more anxious. I cannot look upon the loss of weight with unconcern or indifference though you ask me not to be anxious on that account. After the continued hungerstrike for 12 days, I do not know what your weight is at present.

Aruna's marriage negotiations have been broken off, I am sorry to say. . . . they wanted us to bear the bridegroom's expenses of education in England. We had to say "no".

(* * Illegible * *)

Rangamamababu is leaving for Rangoon by tomorrow's boat and will probably arrive at Mandalay on Friday next.

In my last letter (dated 27th Feby.) I have told you when I got news of the hungerstrike from 13 Elysium Row.

The Superintendent Mandalay Jail wired yesterday

"Health as good as could be expected". It was very vague—I wish he sent a more detailed report.

I asked you in a previous letter to return Nietzsche's works Vol. III to the Book Coy. of College Square and to send me Lord Ronaldshay's works after you had read them. You need not send either of them just yet—not until the hungerstrike is over I don't want you to *exert yourself at all*.

It is no use concealing the fact that I am anxious for your health. I hope and pray the Lord will protect you.

(* * * Illegible * *)

Yours very affly

SARAT

148. *To Sarat Chandra Bose*

Censored and Passed
Illegible

1/3/26
for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.
Bengal

Mandalay

17.2.26

My dear brother,

Your letter of the 8th February was to hand yesterday.

I have written to you about my health in my last letter and I have nothing to add at present. I do not know if it would be any good examining my blood but I shall consider your suggestion. My urine was examined for sugar once some time ago—but the result was negative. I do not know how far the test could be relied upon as the examination was carried out in the jail hospital but I can have it examined once again.

I have not written to mother for about a fortnight. How is *Didi*? I have not had any news about her for some time past. Hope this will find you all quite well. Where is Uncle Kanchi living now? Is he alone or has he taken his family over there? I am glad he has started well in his practice. If more people take to dentistry they will still find plenty

of field for practice. I am so so.

Yours v. affly

SUBHAS

S. C. Bose Esq.
38/1, Elgin Road
Calcutta.

149. *To The Superintendent
Mandalay Jail*

*Mandalay
18.2.26*

Dear Sir,

We desire to send the following telegraphic representations to H.E. the Governor of Burma in Council, H.E. the Governor of Bengal in Council, H.E. the Governor General of India in Council. We shall be obliged if you be so good as to despatch them as early as possible. Under Rule V of Bengal Regulation III of 1888, the officer in whose custody any state prisoner may be placed is to forward every representation which a state prisoner may from time to time be desirous of submitting to the Governor General in Council Under Rule II of the rules enacted by the Bengal Government for the treatment of state prisoners "when the telegram is to and from Government, it must be forwarded direct provided that the local Government must always be intermediary in correspondence with the Government of India". It therefore follows that we can claim direct communication with the Bengal Government.

Yours faithfully,

S. C. BOSE

For the State Prisoners and detenus

Telegraphic Representation :

- 1) To H.E. the Governor General in Council, Delhi
- 2) To H.E. the Governor of Bengal in Council, Calcutta

All representations having failed we have been forced to commence hunger-strike today owing to grievances

regarding religious observances and other matters Stop Solicit intervention.

STATE PRISONERS & DETENUS
Mandalay Jail

To

H.E. The Governor of Burma in Council, Rangoon

All representations having failed we have been forced to commence hunger strike today owing to grievances regarding religious observances and other matters Stop Solicit intervention.

Under Rule 5 of Bengal Regulation of 1818 we request despatch of telegraphic representation to Governor General and under Rule II of Bengal Government regarding state prisoners' treatment we desire despatch of telegraphic representation to Bengal.

STATE PRISONERS & DETENUS
Mandalay Jail

150. *To The Superintendent
Mandalay Jail*

*Mandalay
18.2.26*

Dear Sir,

I shall be obliged if you inform on our behalf the official visitor, the D.C. of Mandalay and the non-official visitors Messrs U. Tha Gwe and Jammadar Umechand that we would like them to visit us as early as possible. Regarding the non-official visitors, I have been informed by the I.G. Prisons in his letter of the 13th July 1925 that it is open to them to visit us as often as they like. Hence, so far as the rules are concerned there is nothing to prevent them from coming.

Yours faithfully,

S. C. BOSE

(On behalf of the Regulation III
Beng. C.L.A. Act detenus)

151. *To The Superintendent,
Mandalay Jail*

Mandalay Jail
20.2.26

Dear Sir,

I learnt from Mr. Chatterjee that you were enquiring the other day as to what would be done with the eggs. Thereafter I asked the Chief Jailor to take charge of the eggs—both the accumulated and the freshly laid ones. But nothing has been done uptill now. I think it would be desirable to remove all the fowls from here as long as the strike lasts. Since hatching has been going on here it is necessary to keep some eggs in this yard—but this is not desirable on other grounds. Moreover some of the hens are for some time past being fed on boiled eggs and it is better to have this done in some other place. It would of course be desirable to have the hatching continued and the proper feeding as well. If any Jailer volunteers to do this, it would be all right. Failing that, you may deal with the fowls as you think best.

Yours faithfully,
S. C. BOSE

152. *To The Superintendent
Mandalay Jail*

Mandalay,
21.2.26

Dear Sir,

I shall be obliged if you be so good as to send by wire the following telegrams to my people in India through the Calcutta C.I.D. under Rule II of the Rules enacted by the Bengal Government for the treatment of state prisoners and detenus. Being private messages, under the above rule they can go direct to the addressees through the Calcutta C.I.D.

Yours faithfully,
S. C. BOSE

Telegram

Bose

38/1 Elgin Road, Calcutta.

Am on hunger strike since eighteenth for religious question and other grievances.

Subhas Bose Mandalay

Telegram

Amar Nath Dutt Assembly Delhi

Facilities for religious worship being refused and for other grievances I have been compelled to commence hunger-strike on eighteenth.

Subhas Bose Mandalay

153. *To The Deputy Commissioner,
Mandalay*

Mandalay
21.2.26

Dear Sir,

The fourth day of our hunger-strike is going to be over and though we have been expecting you for the last few days, you have not cared to come. We beg to remind you that under Regulation III of 1818 you have certain statutory duties to perform with regard to those detained under that Act. Your responsibility becomes all the greater in the event of hunger-strike taking place. However we hope you will make it convenient to pay us a visit as early as possible.

Yours faithfully,
S. C. BOSE
(on behalf of the detenus)

154. *To The Superintendent,
Mandalay Jail*

Mandalay Jail
21.2.26

Dear Sir,

As the fight is going to be a long one, the question of

forced feeding is likely to crop up. We have already communicated to you our views on this subject on more than one occasion and we strongly adhere to them.

Our position is this. If the Government make the conditions of living impossible for us surely they have no right to prevent us from abstaining from food. When economic freedom is lost—subsistence is lost; when political freedom is lost—honour is lost; when religious freedom is lost—everything is lost. Today we have lost everything. Life has ceased to have any meaning for us and we have but one alternative viz., to die with honour. Our lives are our own and when life becomes not only intolerable but impossible, we have the liberty to die. The Government did not breathe life into us and we are not responsible to them for our lives. We shall be responsible to God alone for our action and the Government—we hope—will not have the presumption to arrogate to themselves the position of the Divine Creator. If therefore, recourse is had to forced feedings, we shall be under the painful necessity of resisting with all the strength at our command.

This question cropped up when the late Mr. Terence Macswiney, Lord Mayor of Cork, was on hunger-strike. The late Lord Mayor maintained that the British Government had no right to feed him forcibly. (Mr Bose was then in England and he knows about this case perfectly well.) The Govt. decided thereupon not to resort to forced feeding and they only ordered that food should be kept round about his bed day and night—so that if he intended to take anything at any moment, the food would be at hand. It is for you and the Govt. to decide what should be done in this case but under no circumstances are we going to submit to forced feeding.

There is one other point which you should consider as a medical officer viz. the danger to life and injury to health which forced feeding involves. Firstly, in the case of nasal feeding, the mouth will be shut when you insert the tube in the nasal passage and without breaking the teeth it will be practically impossible for you to open the mouth. It will not therefore be possible for you to see which direction the

tube would be moving towards. It is possible for the tube to enter the air passage by mistake and a single particle of food reaching the lungs is likely to cause immediate death. Secondly, in the case of all forms of forced feeding, even when there is no resistance on the part of the sufferer, if there is weak heart or if there is any other serious ailment, death resulting from heart failure may take place in the very act of feeding forcibly. Thirdly, attempt to avert forced feeding by passive resistance on the part of the sufferer may in the course of the struggle cause heart failure or suffocation or any other serious complication and thereby lead to immediate death. This may happen even when there is no active resistance on the part of the sufferer and when he is simply evading or dodging the attack made on him. I would also like to point out that as a result of forced feeding, injury to health—whether of a temporary or permanent character—is known to take place. The delicate mucous membrane lining the passage through which the tube has to be pushed is not habituated to it and a permanent derangement of the physical system is likely to take place as a result of forced feeding. Owing to all these risks, medical officers in some cases—we know—refused to resort to forced feeding. You may be aware that the law gives us the right to resist actively when one's life is in danger and when one is in danger of receiving grievous hurt. We have pointed out to you the danger to life and the injury to health which forced feeding involves. Under the circumstances we feel that if after considering our representations you shall feel inclined to resort to forced feeding we shall be legally justified in actively resisting any such inhuman attempt for the preservation of our life and health.

In conclusion we repeat that death or injury resulting from forced feeding is by no means uncommon and well-informed medical authorities will bear out this statement. Such death would amount to culpable homicide and probably to wilful murder when the consequences of his action have been previously made known to the medical officer in charge. One of the reasons why we are bringing all these facts into your notice is that it will be easier hereafter to

hold you liable civilly and criminally before a court of law in case anything untoward happens as a result of forced feeding.

In addition to the above we beg to state that we suffer from a constitutionally weak heart.

We are sir,

Yours faithfully,

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
JIBANLAL CHATTERJEE
SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSH
MADAN MOHAN BHOWMICK
SATISH CHANDRA CHAKRAVORTY

(This letter was drafted by Subhas Chandra Bose on behalf of the signatories.)

155. To The Superintendent,
Mandalay Jail

Mandalay
21.2.26

Dear Sir,

In connection with the Government circulars regarding hunger strike, we shall be obliged if you let us know whether you have informed our relatives about the situation here. If you have not, we shall be glad if you take action in the matter as mentioned in the circular.

Yours faithfully,

S. C. BOSE

(For the State Prisoners & detenus)

156. To The Superintendent,
Mandalay Jail

Mandalay
22.2.26

Dear Sir,

We shall be obliged if you send word to the non-official visitors Messrs Umechand Jhaveri and U Tha Gwe that we

want them to see us urgently.

Yours faithfully,

S. C. BOSE

(For the detenus)

157. To The Superintendent,
Mandalay Jail

Mandalay
22.2.26

Dear Sir,

I am sending herewith for the Deputy Commissioner, Mandalay, a copy of the letter we have addressed to you regarding forced feeding. The letter summarises all that we have to say against forced feeding. I shall be obliged if you forward it to him as early as possible.

Yours faithfully,

S. C. BOSE

[This letter was not sent till 24.2.26.]

158. To Sarat Chandra Bose

Mandalay
22.2.26

Censored and Passed

Illegible

1/3/26

for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.

Bengal

My dear brother,

I think I have already replied to your last letter. I do not remember if I informed you that since getting your last note, I have had myself examined for hookworm but the result was negative. I shall have the other examinations by-and-by.

I have been awaiting Kaviraj Mahasay's instructions regarding medicine as also his medicine. I wonder if my letters have reached him.

I have not heard from father for some time past. How

is he doing? I have not had any news about *Natunmama-babu* either? Is he living at Baranagore or with *Namama-babu*? Is he able to attend office? How is *Natundada*? I wrote to him some time ago but I have not heard in reply. I shall be replying to mother's letter next week—I hope she will not be anxious in the meantime.

I hope you will be sending the Psychology books I wanted shortly.

I wish I could write more.

How are you all doing?

Yours v. affly

SUBHAS

S. C. Bose Esq.

38/1, Elgin Road,
Calcutta.

159. *To The Superintendent,
Mandalay Jail*

Mandalay

24.2.26

Dear Sir,

I desire to send the following telegram to Calcutta at my own expense if necessary.

Yours faithfully,

S. C. BOSE

Hemendra Dasgupta
31 Haldarpara Road
Kalighat, Calcutta

Your telegram received posting reminiscences today enquire
Elysium Row

SUBHAS BOSE

160. *To The Superintendent,
Mandalay Jail*

Mandalay

25.2.26

Dear Sir,

I desire to send the following telegrams to my people

in India today as early as possible.

Yours faithfully,

S. C. BOSE

Telegram

Bose

38/1 Elgin Road

Calcutta

Today eighth day of hunger strike

SUBHAS BOSE

Telegram

J.M. Sengupta

Mayor Calcutta

On hunger strike still today being eighth day.

SUBHAS BOSE

Telegram

Amar Nath Dutt

Assembly Delhi

Today eighth day of hunger strike

SUBHAS BOSE

Telegram

T.C. Goswami

Assembly Delhi

On hunger strike still today being eighth day

SUBHAS BOSE

161. *To The Superintendent,
Mandalay Jail*

Mandalay

26.2.26

Dear Sir,

Today is the ninth day of the hunger strike. I do not know what steps you are taking to expedite a settlement besides making arrangements for forced feeding. I do not know how things stand in this province but I know that in Bengal more heed is paid to what the man on the spot says and that I think is the saving grace of the Bengal Govern-

ment. You have also on more than one occasion threatened us with 3 years' R.I. for the sake of facilitating forced feeding (which by the way is not going to be an easy affair) not knowing probably that there are people here who have done 10 years' transportation to the Andamans for the sake of their political convictions. You have in a most arbitrary way ignored the rules of the Bengal Government by sending most of our telegrams to Rangoon to be pigeonholed there—whereas you should have informed our people direct or through the Deputy Commissioner. The reply you sent to my brother regarding my health is in effect quite misleading and is sure to give my people there an entirely wrong impression. I do not understand how you can say that a man who is on hunger strike is wild unless you are entirely callous with regard to his suffering. It appears now that the attitude of the Inspector General of Prisons is filtering down.

Yours faithfully,
S. C. BOSE

(Sent about 9 a.m.)

162. *To The Superintendent,
Mandalay Jail*

Mandalay
26.2.26

Dear Sir,

I shall be obliged if you could send the following telegram to my brother direct from my own money. I do not want it to be sent either to Rangoon or to the C.I.D. If for any reason you cannot see your way to sending it direct, I do not think it would be of any use to send it.

Yours faithfully,
S. C. BOSE

Telegram

Bose

38/1, Elgin Road, Calcutta.

Please persuade parents not to be anxious regarding my

hunger strike stop if possible withhold news of strike from them stop wire parents' health.

SUBHAS BOSE

163. *To The Superintendent
Mandalay Jail*

Mandalay
26.2.26

Dear Sir,

We shall be obliged if you inform the Deputy Commissioner of Mandalay that we want him to visit us at his earliest convenience.

Yours faithfully,
S. C. BOSE
(for the detenus).

164. *To The Superintendent
Mandalay Jail*

Mandalay
26.2.26

Dear Sir,

We desire Mr. L. K. Mitter, M.L.C. of Mandalay to interview us either individually or collectively as early as possible. We hereby request you to wire to the proper authorities and arrange about the interview as early as possible. We consider this as urgent.

Yours faithfully,

Sd/- S. C. BOSE
" J. L. CHATTERJI
" M. M. BHOWMICK
" S. M. GHOSH
" B. B. GANGULI
" S. C. CHAKRAVARTI
" S. C. MITRA
" T. CHAKRAVORTY

165. *To The Chief Secretary
to the Govt. of Burma*

Mandalay

26.2.26

Dear Sir,

We desire to bring to your notice the following cutting from the *Rangoon Daily News* of the 24th February (Dak Edition). From the internal evidence it appears that the statement is a semi-official one or is inspired by the Govt. We may point out that this statement contradicts the one made by Sir Hugh Stephenson, Home Member to the Govt. of Bengal regarding the responsibility of the Burma Govt. with regard to the detenus from Bengal. If the statement which appeared in the Rangoon Paper goes uncontradicted by the Burma Govt. we as well the public at large would be right in concluding that the press statement is in effect a communique of the Burma Govt. It would be unfair that owing to a misunderstanding between 2 provincial Govts., we should be subjected to a double dose of diarchy. To give us to understand that we have to depend on the orders of the Bengal Govt. and to tell our people at home that the Burma Govt. is wholly responsible for the Bengal detenus amounts, according to our plain common sense, to a species of sharp practice in the domain of political diplomacy.

If, however, the press statement is correct, it follows :-

- 1) That the Burma Govt. have no right to issue any orders or any circular regarding forced feeding in our case. (That the circulars of both the Bengal Govt. and the Burma Govt. are ultra vires and illegal has been pointed out by us in a letter to the Superintendent, Mandalay Jail on 22.2.26.)
- 2) That the Burma Govt. are acting illegally and arbitrarily in suppressing the right of direct communication with the Bengal Govt. and with people in Bengal which we possess under the rules framed by the Bengal Govt. The rule in this connection runs as follows:—

Rule II

It is clear from the above that we can communicate

direct with the Bengal Govt. and through the C.I.D. with our people in Bengal. Only in the case of communications with the Govt. of India are we obliged to go through the local Govt.

Further we know that according to the rules of the Bengal Govt. whenever there is a hungerstrike, the Superintendent should inform our relatives about it through the District Magistrate (i.e. the Deputy Commissioner). We regret that on this occasion this rule of the Bengal Govt. has not been complied with. We drew the attention of the Superintendent to this point on more than one occasion but for reasons which he knows best, he was pleased to ignore our complaint. As a result all our telegrams are travelling by post to Rangoon. Whether they are being despatched from there or are being pigeonholed there we have no opportunity of knowing.

We are Sir,

Yours faithfully

S. C. BOSE

(on behalf of the State
Prisoners and Detenus).

166. *From Sarat Chandra Bose*

38/1, Elgin Road

27.2.26

Censored and Passed

Illegible

DSP

for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.

Bengal

28.2.26

My dear Subhas,

I wrote to you last on the 22nd instant. Your last letter to me is dated 6th instant and I believe I have told you that it reached me on the 20th instant. I wrote to Mr. Armstrong this morning enquiring if any letters from you were lying in

his office. He has written to say that there are none. I enquired also why your letter dated the 6th instant was not delivered earlier and he has replied that the letter was received in his office on the 19th instant at 3-30 p.m. So presumably there was delay in despatching the letter at the other end.

Your letter to your *Bowdidi* dated 12.2.26 came in on the 25th. In that letter there is reference to certain papers showing that the Bengal Govt. is responsible for allowances, expenses etc. of detenus and you say that you are forwarding those papers along with the letter. But the letter came without the other papers and this morning I enquired of Mr. Armstrong about those papers. He has replied that those papers were not received in his office, that the omission was noticed and a note to that effect was made in his office records at the time.

I received the telegram you sent yesterday this morning. On receipt of that telegram I asked Mr. Armstrong to send you the following telegram:—

“Your telegram received today stop newspapers reported Hungerstrike 21st Asked Elysium Row information immediately stop Information given 25th Hunger-strike commenced 18th stop Assembly passed Goswami’s adjournment motion 25th Home member promised full sympathetic enquiry stop *Rangamamababu* going Mandalay tomorrow wire State Health today”

Mr. Armstrong has informed me that he has sent my telegram in full to the Superintendent Mandalay Jail.

You will see from the above that we were not informed till the 25th that the hungerstrike commenced on the 18th. Mr. Armstrong wrote to me that it was only on the evening of the 24th that information was received that the State prisoners and detenus had been on hungerstrike since the 18th. This is most surprising.

Before this reaches you, you will read in *The Statesman* the report of the Assembly debate on Thursday last. Mr. Goswami made a most effective speech and carried the House with him. You must have seen from the Associated Press report what a great sensation the publication of Lt.

Col. Mulvany’s evidence made. Have you read that evidence?

The newspapers here have published the three letters (including the one dated 16th Feby.) you and other detenus wrote to the Chief Secy, Burma on the subject of Puja expenses. The last one was really brilliant and I may tell you I felt proud on reading it. May God bless you all!

The Deputy Commissioner Mandalay has in reply to my telegram wired to say that you are continuing fit and that you wanted that the news of the hungerstrike should be kept back from parents. That is not possible now. Father was here on the 21st instant—the day on which the news of the hungerstrike first appeared in the papers and mother also knows all about the hungerstrike. However, that need not make you at all anxious.

I received information this morning that Sir Alexander Muddiman has promised to make a statement regarding hungerstrike on Monday next (the 18th March). Up to the present moment, there has been no statement either from the Bengal Govt. or the Burma Govt. or from the Govt. of India and we are all waiting to see what Govt. has got to say on the matter.

I would have been only too glad to comply with your desire to keep back the news from parents, if that was possible. But that is quite impossible as the news has created a great stir both in the press and on the platform and in those circumstances, unless people lived in a place where there were no newspapers, the news was bound to reach them. However, don’t be at all anxious on that account.

You will have some idea of what is going on all over the country from the newspapers you are allowed to read. The Associated Press is generally charged with keeping back news but the little they give is sufficient for a man of education and insight.

I wonder if you are now allowed to read the *Forward*. After the Secy. of States’ statement regarding newspapers, I thought that the local authorities would allow you to substitute *Forward* for the *Bengalee*. I hate to read the

Bengalee—it is going from bad to worse. It is practically a Govt. organ now and does not give any news of interest to Indian readers. I understand that even a moderate like Lord Sinha has become disgusted with the *Bengalee*.

I have nothing more to write except to convey the blessings of the family. I have no doubt that in God's Earth, your sufferings will not go in vain.

I will only utter one word of warning. Now that you are on hungerstrike you must take more care of yourself than you usually do. You must not exert yourself at all—must even give up reading. By the way, what do you think of Lord Ronaldshay's Heart of Aryavarta? You have not told me yet.

This leaves us well.

Yours very affly

SARAT

Subhas C. Bose Esq.

167. From Sarat Chandra Bose

Censored and Passed

Illegible

6.3.26

for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.

Bengal

38/1, Elgin Road

6th March, 1926

My dear Subhas,

Your letters of the 17th and 21st. Feby. were to hand on the 2nd instant. I have no doubt that your letters are not being delivered in time. The only question is whether the delay is at the other end or at this end.

Rangamamababu will probably see you this afternoon and we shall expect a telegram from him containing a detailed report about your health. After hungerstrike for 15 days you cannot be too careful about your health. You know now what value the whole country places on your health and life and I hope that (if nothing else) will persuade you to take as much care of your health as is possible under

the circumstances.

As you get *The Statesman* your attention will no doubt, be drawn to its article headed "Prison Amenities" which appeared in its Town Edition of Thursday last. Can you conceive of anything meaner than that?

The Burma Govt. has stated, I find, that the general question of religious grant is under consideration. We are awaiting the decision with interest.

The whole country has been startled by the publication in one of the local papers of the evidence of Lt. Col. Mulvany before the Jail Committee. I wonder if any of the Rangoon papers published it and if you have had or will have any opportunity of seeing it so long as you are under detention. I am eager to know what Jail Superintendents think about it.

You must have been thinking why I subscribed to the view regarding hungerstrike which I communicated to you all through Moulana Shaukat Ali. Well, that was the view of the public in Bengal, and whatever my own personal views might have been, I felt bound to communicate what the view of the public (specially Congressmen and Swarajists) was. Some good has certainly resulted out of it; the attention of all is rivetted to Mandalay and something is bound to come out of it.

Before this reaches you, you will have read in *The Statesman* Lord Lytton's speech at Dacca in opening the Moslem Hall. Well, I was amused to find that you were one of the friends of His Excellency and that there was no difference between your views and his.

I shall not trouble you with a long letter this time and I shall end by giving you some news about the family. *Dada* is well again. He is no longer under medical treatment. But I am sorry to say that *Natunmamababu* is going down daily. He is practically confined to bed. His pains all over the body increased and I apprehend that he will have to take long leave again.

I heard from Sunil towards the end of last month. He says he will not be long in returning home. I don't quite know what he means.

I am sending your books on Psychology by book-post today.

Father will be here tomorrow morning.

Yours very affly

SARAT

168. To Janakinath Bose

Mandalay

8.3.26

Monday

Censored and Passed

Illegible

15/3/26

for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.

Bengal

My dear father,

You are aware by now that we broke fast on the 4th inst. All of us are weak but are otherwise well. It will no doubt take us some time to regain our former strength.

During the strike I wired to *Mejdada* asking him if I would send daily reports regarding my health to you. He wired back saying that he was sending daily reports on receipt of the daily telegraphic reports from here. I did not therefore send by telegraphic reports to you direct. I hope you were kept informed about the developments here.

I am sorry to learn that Aruna's marriage negotiations have broken off.

It is getting warm here gradually.

I am anxious to know how you all are doing. Where do you intend to spend the summer?

My *pronams* to you.

Yours v. affly

SUBHAS

P.S.

Rangamamababu is here now. I shall have my last interview with him today. He will leave this afternoon for Rangoon

and take Tuesday's boat for Calcutta.

SUBHAS

P.P.S.

I have received samples of *Sejdada's* combs and matches. They are very good indeed.

SUBHAS

169. To Sarat Chandra Bose

Mandalay

13.3.26.

Censored and Passed

Illegible

23/3/26

for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.

Bengal

My dear brother,

Your letter of the 6th inst. reached me on the 11th.

Our anticipations regarding Mr. Patterson have come out to be true as the reply to the Assembly question shows. He came for a whitewashing purpose and has acted accordingly. Without being sure of his locus standi we told him some of our complaints—lest he should go back and report that there were no complaints. It is not known whether he brought these complaints to the notice of the proper authorities.

The weather is fitful now but it will soon become uniformly hot. April will land us in real summer.

The Inspector General has made himself scarce—at least as far as we are concerned. In January he told us that he would be coming again in February. It does not appear now that he would be coming this way at an early date.

The new detention order was signed on the 16th (sixteenth) January, 1926, and was served on the 29th Jan. The last order was signed on the 19th Jan. 1925 and was served at Berhampur on the 25th Jan.

I have returned Vol. III of Nietzsche's works per

Rangamamababu and have sent my shawl for dry cleaning.

I do not know why the enclosures were not delivered or how they could be missing. A friend here is informed that the enclosures to his letter reached the Censor's office, though they were withheld. I do not think I could have forgotten to put them inside the cover.

I have already informed you in my last letter as to the dates on which I sent telegrams. You may compare these dates with the dates of delivery. The telegrams were in most cases sent by post to Rangoon and there despatched by wire. The telegrams were unusually delayed in Rangoon for the first eight or ten days but towards the end they were sent out from Rangoon more promptly. If the news had not leaked out somehow I do not think the telegrams would have been transmitted from Rangoon at all.

How many telegrams did you send to the Deputy Commissioner and on what dates? Did you get replies to all of them? When he was here I asked him to send a wire to you asking you to withhold the news from parents, if possible. He has not visited us since then but I am glad that he complied with my request.

I am sending you a cutting from the *Rangoon Daily News*—one of the local papers on the list approved by the Govt. You will see what scanty news comes to us from India through the Rangoon papers and how some papers are deliberately neglected by the Associated Press. As for the *Bengalee* it would suffice to say that we get more information from the Rangoon papers than from the Liberal organ and I doubt if the latter has any subscribers besides the detenus in Jails.

It is hardly necessary to say that we all feel grateful to Mr. Goswami for what he has done for us.

I am keeping well uptill now—except for the weakness which it will take some time to shake off. I have put on some weight since I broke fast and am now 143 lbs.

Regarding Aruna's marriage, I think it is time to break some of the shackles which limit the scope of matrimonial engagements. I do not know how my suggestion would be taken but I think that inter-marriage between Kayasthas of

West and East Bengal should take place. How else can the problem be solved? In any case I have no doubt that it would be more useful to search for a bridegroom in the mofussil than in the town.

I had a prolonged interview with *Rangamamababu* and you will learn everything from him. I have told him about our grievances in detail and have read out to him more than once the note we wrote explaining why we suspended the strike. I hope he will be able to give as faithful a report as is possible. We have also sent copies of the above two memoranda to the I.G. Prisons who will hand them over to Moulana Shaukat Ali at Rangoon after censoring.

I have received your letters of the 22nd Feb., 27th Feb., 1st March and 6th March in good time. I shall have no reason to complain if the censoring continues to be equally prompt in future.

I am taking sufficient care of my health—as far as diet and habits can help. Except a tendency towards constipation and susceptibility to cold—I have no trouble for the present. I do not of course know what will happen a fortnight hence when summer is on.

We have seen the article in *The Statesman* to which you refer and have no doubt that it will be dealt with properly. You know by this time what persuaded us to give up the strike for the time being—much against our will. The telegrams from Calcutta—and particularly your telegram—surprised all of us and particularly me. After 3 hours' interview on the first day with Moulana Shaukat Ali we tried to put him off by saying that we could not respond to the appeals he made in the name of the country—but could respond only to Bengal opinion. We were so very sure about the nature of the messages from Bengal that the next morning we wrote to the Supdt. saying that it would be useless to have a further interview with Moulana Sahib. Once he was armed with Bengal opinion nothing would baffle him and though our rather brusque letter was sent on to him—he turned up at the appointed time to continue his persuasive eloquence. He was again disappointed but he persevered and finally on the third day he succeeded with

great difficulty. At one time (on the 3rd day) the deadlock was complete and we were on the point of retiring.

I have been interested to read Lord Lytton's Dacca speech. The reference seemed to be so irrelevant that it reminded me of the Bengali adage—"ধান ভানতে শিবের গীত"

I have not received the books yet—I believe they are on the way.

I am sorry to learn about *Natunmamababu*. I thought that he was improving. I am glad to know that *Dada* is well again. How is *Kanchimama* thriving in his practice?

Do you know of any one who knew intimately Justice Woodroffe and is versed in the "*Tantras*"?

There is no delay at this end in despatching letters. I am sure of that because whenever I send my letters to the office on the mail day, I see that they are despatched in time.

Letters to you have been despatched from this office on the following dates:—

February: 1st, 10th, 15th, 17th, 19th, 22nd.

March: 1st, 8th.

My letter dated the 6th was despatched on the 10th Feb: and the letter of the 1st addressed to *Mejobowdidi* to your care.

Hope this will find you all quite well. How are father and mother?

Yours v. affly
SUBHAS

S. C. Bose Esq.
38/1, Elgin Road
Calcutta

Enclosure:—A cutting from the Rangoon Daily News.
Enclosure:

Rangoon Daily News, March 12, 1926.

MR. PATEL'S ADJOURNMENT OF THE ASSEMBLY

Indian Press Comments.

The "Englishman".

Associated Press

Calcutta, March 10: Commenting on Mr. Patel's deci-

sion in adjourning the Assembly and the statement subsequently made by him the Englishman writes: "The plain fact is Mr. Patel made a huge blunder in allowing his emotion to get better of his intellect and his sense of judgement and fairness. He has recanted fully and completely and to the best of his ability done what he could to repair the breach he made in the walls of the constitution. We, fear, however, that in certain quarters the incident will not be forgotten for some time and will be used at home to illustrate the dangers that are likely to arise if there is any considerable revision of the constitution."

The "Statesman".

The Statesman says "Mr. Patel has himself relieved the Assembly from the impossible position which he seemed to foreshadow after the withdrawal of the Swarajists. His statement in the House yesterday while it does not withdraw the suggestion that business should now be confined to non-controversial recognises that his original pronouncement was hasty and couched in a language that could be interpreted as a threat. Mr. Patel, no doubt, has the anxiety of a man now to the office to preserve all the dignity and authority that attaches to the Chair but he is apt to forget that the President is a servant and not Master of the Assembly.

The "A. B. Patrika".

The "Amrita Bazar Patrika" says Mr. Patel stood for the rights and liberties when he declared his intention that so far as it lay in him he would not allow the House to be prostituted by the Bureaucracy to serve its own purpose. Those courageous words will find an echo in every true Indian heart and will find an honoured place in the history of development of free institutions in India.

MR. RANGASWAMI IYENGAR'S VIEWS.

Madras, March 9: In a statement made to the Associated Press regarding Mr. Patel's statement in the Assembly to-

day Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar M.L.A. said "I am glad to find Mr. Patel has put his position beyond the possibility of any doubt or misapprehension and I believe that so far as the substance of the matter is concerned he was entirely within his rights though in his manner of expressing them he happened to create misapprehension which has been happily removed.

170. From Sarat Chandra Bose

38/1 Elgin Road
5.4.26
Monday.

Censored and Passed
Illegible
6/4/26
for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.
Bengal

My dear Subhas,

I haven't been able to write to you for quite a long time. I believe my last letter to you was on the 20th ultimo.

I received your letters of the 13th, 17th and 26th March on the 24th March, 27th March and 3rd April respectively.

I am glad you sent me the cutting from the *Rangoon Daily News* giving the (alleged) Indian Press opinions on Patel's adjournment of the Assembly. I have taken up the matter with the Associated Press. There is no reason why more Indian news and views should not appear in Rangoon papers.

The *Bengalee* is not making much headway even after the change of Editor. It declares itself to be the "organ of Indian nationalism" but those words do not deceive anybody nowadays.

The Rangoon papers have, I hope, given you news of the Calcutta riots. The city is quiet now and I do not apprehend any more trouble. My own opinion is that Arya Samajists behaved foolishly. I also believe that there were instigators behind the scenes and that it was not a mere

coincidence that the outbreak was at the time of the new Viceroy's arrival.

I shall stop here today. I shall write more in detail on Thursday next. Hope you are feeling better now.

Yours very affly

SARAT

171. From Sarat Chandra Bose

38/1 Elgin Road
15th March '26
8 p.m.

Censored and Passed
Illegible
16/3/26
for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.
Bengal.

My dear Subhas,

I got your letter of the 1st instant on the 9th.

Between the 2nd Feby and the 6th March (both inclusive) I wrote to you four times—on the 22nd Feby, 27th Feby, 1st March and 6th March. I trust you have received all of them.

Rangamamababu arrived last Thursday morning. Parents left for Cuttack the same evening. Father has not been keeping very well of late—there is nothing wrong with him in particular but he is slightly thinner than before. *Rangamamababu* insisted on mother's going down with father—I think that was right.

You are right in your surmise that your telegrams during the period of your hunger-strike were held up. I am giving below the dates on which your telegrams were delivered to me.

27th Feby., '26—Following telegram recd.

"Am on hungerstrike since eighteenth for religious question and other grievances.

SUBHAS BOSE
Mandalay"

27th Feby. '26 (10.15 p.m.)—Following telegram recd.
 "Today eighthday of hungerstrike.

SUBHAS BOSE"

2nd March '26—Following telegram recd.

"Is sending direct health reports to father necessary stop wire parents health Subhas.

Jailgyi''

3rd March '26—Copy of following telegram forwarded by 13 Elysium Row. "No news from Government regarding general question of religious worship. Strike continues. Today third March fourteenth day stop all work on 11th March."

172. *From Sarat Chandra Bose*

38/1, Elgin Road,
20th March '26.

Censored and Passed

Illegible

22/3/26

for D.I.G., I.B. C.I.D.

Bengal

My dear Subhas,

I received your letter of the 8th instant on the 16th.

In my last letter I have given you the dates of my visits to the

SARAT

on the 27th. They will be coming here on the 2nd April. Father is in rather poor health. I don't know how he will stand the coming summer.

I enclose father's letter herewith.

Have you finished all the books sent to you by the Book Company? Do you want any more now? If so, please send a list.

This leaves us fairly well. Hope this will find you better.

Yours very affly

SARAT

Subhas Chandra Bose Esq.

173. To Sarat Chandra Bose

Censored and Passed

Illegible

11/4

for D.I.G., I.B. C.I.D.

Bengal.

Mandalay

31.3.26.

My dear brother,

Your letter of the 20th March was to hand on the 27th inst. I find from your figures that during the month of February it took my letters about a fortnight to reach you. Of late there has been an improvement and it now takes about 8 days to reach you. I do not think it should take more than a week at the outside for my letters to reach you.

I now weigh 146 lbs. i.e. I have gained 8 lbs. since the strike. Under normal circumstances it should not take more than a month to recoup the lost weight. It has become so hot here—particularly in the daytime—that I do not hope to return to my weight immediately before the strike (i.e. 155½ lbs.).

I have heard nothing about our transfer to distant jails beyond what was published in the *Bengalee* some time ago on the authority of another paper. One petition for transfer on medical grounds (not mine) has been before the Govt.

for the last few months but no orders are forthcoming yet.

Day before yesterday I wrote to the Book Company for a number of books.

I am anxious to know how father is keeping. I understand from father's letter that the marriage negotiations of Aruna have been resumed again.

I am glad to know that I have been awarded damages in the suit against *The Englishman*. I did not expect anything from Chotzner J.—and something is better than nothing. Moreover we have gained our point. When does the suit against *The Statesman* come up?

Hope this will find you all quite well.

I forgot to write that I received a parcel of 3 books through the C.I.D. I have also received a parcel containing two dhoties, a bundle of yarn and some পাপর (papad) I believe both the dhoties and the yarn are homespun. I believe the yarn has been spun by Asoke since he is reputed to be the best spinner. The sample is very fine indeed and uniform too. Who takes the credit for supplying yarn for the dhoties?

We had another surprise shower last night soon after we went to bed. The weather seemed to have conspired with the lights beforehand—for as soon as the wind rose, out went all the lights. The Public Works Department have been at the job for about a fortnight but tiles do not appear to be available in Burma. Since the last storm the roof has been in a state of disrepair. When the rains fell the roof was quite accommodating and a portion of the room was flooded. Moreover the wind drove the rain in through the palisades on the north and certain articles and books were drenched. We were all hurried out of our beds and had to bestir ourselves for about an hour in order to move the articles from one part of the room to another and to make the flooded portions habitable again. Probably nature wanted to give us a change—and a change we did have.

I am so so.

Yours v. affly

SUBHAS

S. C. Bose Esq.

38/1 Elgin Road

Calcutta.

174. *To Sarat Chandra Bose*

Censored and Passed

Illegible

26/3/26

for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.

Bengal.

Mandalay

17.3.26.

My dear brother,

My last letter to you written on 13.3.26 was actually posted on 15.3.26. I have made a note of it on the letter itself. Henceforth I propose to follow this procedure whenever the letter is posted on a day different from that on which it is actually written.

I learnt from uncle that the Laxmi Bank have been worrying you for the few hundred rupees I overdrew from them some time ago. They have not written to me at all about the matter uptill now. The sum is so small that they could easily have waited for my return, especially when they are charging interest. I am, however, writing to them about the matter this week.

I have returned the extra copy of Vol. III of Nietzsche's works. Please send the book back to the Book Company.

I have been thinking of writing to you to suggest that extra lessons in music and drawing should be arranged for the children. I feel sure that Ami, given training, will show some talent for fine arts. Regarding music, you may consult Dilip as to how best children could be given elementary lessons. I know that the problem of training children in music from an early age has been engaging his attention for some time past. He is himself a very good trainer—as the success of his pupils clearly shows—but children should be somewhat advanced before they can make the most of his instructions.

We wrote to Mr. L. K. Mitter M.L.C. (Burma) for Mandalay about 3 months ago asking him to come and interview us. He applied to the D.I.G. (Bengal) for permis-

sion but he was asked to apply through the Jail Superintendent. He did so and his application was forwarded to the Burma Govt. and probably to Bengal by this Govt. We have not had a reply yet—but from the delay it appears that the permission asked for will not be given. Mr. Mitter, by the way, is an Assistant Government Advocate.

The question of my candidature for a seat in the Bengal Council is likely to be raised in connection with the ensuing elections. I do not think it would serve any useful purpose if I stand. If I had already been a member, the question would have been altogether different. Whatever be the constitution of the next Council it is bound to be a lively one and it would be unwise to lose even a single vote owing to enforced detention. As I have just said, if I had already been a member, other considerations would have weighed with me—but as matters stand, I do not find it necessary or advisable to be a candidate. Moreover, if I have to choose between civic work and politics—I am not sure that I shall feel inclined to give up a less humble but more tangible programme in favour of a more wordy one. If the question of my candidature is raised, you may communicate my views on the subject.

We had a very interesting though by no means a novel experience, a couple of days ago. The sun fell and the shades of evening descended upon us. But darker even than the evening tints, there rose skyward in the dim distant a dust storm so frequent in Mandalay in summer. Before the screens could be lowered, the dust like a moving canopy completely shrouded us. Not without difficulty, the screens were lowered but so high was the wind that they began to float in the air and served only to add to the music of the scene. The dust lay thick all over the room and not even the remotest corner was free from its touch. The wind persisted and tiles began to blow off the roof. The wooden structure began to croak much like a ship tossed about on a stormy sea. Papers began to fly, lanterns were smitten down and sundry articles began to take wings. But the wrath of Heaven did not last long and the "twice blest" drops of mercy soon began to fall from above. Philosophers say that

God's mercy shines even in darkness. It was therefore meet that the merciful drops should fall in the dark. So, to complete the harmony of the situation the electric current conveniently failed and we were enveloped in what Milton would describe as "Cimmerian darkness." The lurid flashes of lightning served only to make the "darkness visible" (I am again using a Miltonic expression for is not saintly Milton as effective in his descriptions of darkness as Shakespeare is sweet in his descriptions of fairy moonlight?) and to reveal to the more devoted the terrible beauty of the smile of Kali—the Queen of the Dark. (চিন্ময় মূখমণ্ডলে শোভে অটুহার্শি)

Dust was soon overpowered but we and our slender belongings were rendered the sport of the wind and the rain. I remember to have read a description of rain at school as follows:—

"Pitter, patter, pit, pat,

Down the window-pane" etc.

But there were no window-panes and, altogether ignoring the existence of palisades, the rains began to fall pit pat on us and drown our clothes. The wind suddenly turned and began to blow from the north—the side on which no screens at all had been provided. Bathed by the rain and chilled by the wind to our very bones, we nevertheless dared not move from our places lest we should stumble against tables and cots or strike other heads—and we could only keep up our spirits and add to the humour of the fray by exercising our throats and lungs. Darkness and confusion reigned supreme till light returned and the wind abated. And then what did we behold? Books drenched, clothes dripping and bedding moistened and, on the top of it all, a miniature rivulet flowing down the room. Heaven, to relieve our monotony, had planned to give us some novel work to do and for full two hours we were kept busy scrubbing the floor, drying up the water and wiping the books and furniture. The books and the clothing had no doubt a good night's rest after a refreshing bath but what about ourselves? There was the Chief Jailor whom we could hold responsible for the vagaries of the weather—and in fact for everything

happening under the sun. And out went a peremptory order at ten o'clock at night for a supply of dry blankets and bed-sheets. That august person already unnerved by the inclement weather was well-nigh staggered—but he did not consider it wise to send a supply of "brand new" jail-made blankets and from his own surplus store there came a number of decent sheets and blankets. Sympathy and warmth could not be too welcome at that hour of the night and praying for the blessings of the Lord we surrendered to the lock-up man as the clock struck eleven.

I am afraid I must stop here as I may be getting a touch of poetic affectation. More in my next. Hope this will find you all quite well. I have got a parcel of medicine from Kaviraj Mahasay. I am so so.

Yours v. affly

SUBHAS

S. C. Bose Esq.
38/1, Elgin Road,
Calcutta.

174A. To The Secretary
Laxmi Industrial Bank Ltd.
80, Chowringhee Road
Calcutta.

Mandalay Jail
C/o D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.
13, Elysium Row
Calcutta.
20.3.26

Dear Sir,

Regarding the sum of money I borrowed from your bank, I shall be obliged if you could leave the matter alone till my release. If however you want payment of either the principal or the interest in the meantime, please write to me and I shall arrange accordingly.

Yours faithfully
SUBHAS C. BOSE

175. *From Sarat Chandra Bose*

38/1, Elgin Road,
17th April '26.

Passed and Censored
Illegible
18/4/26
10-30 a.m.

My dear Subhas,

Your letter of the 31st March was to hand on the 12th instant. I cannot account for the delay.

We were happy to learn that you gained some weight, however slight. I can quite realise how uncomfortable Mandalay is now. What happened to your application for transfer to some hill station in Burma?

Whenever you write to the Book Company for books please send me a list also.

When you have done with a few books, you may return them to me by Registered Post. I am trying to have a small library here for my use. If I am to go to the Bengal Council, I must have a library.

I don't know if Chotzner's judgement appeared in the Rangoon papers. If not, I shall apply for a copy and send it to you. The observations he made about you and your position were quite good and the strictures he passed on *The Englishman* for making defamatory remarks were severe. After all the amount of damages is a small matter—what is really wanted is a vindication of one's character and in that, we succeeded.

The case against *The Statesman* will come up for hearing in about two months' time. Your attorneys Messrs Dutt and Sen wrote to the Additional Deputy Secretary, Political Dept, Govt. of Bengal requesting him to bring you down to Calcutta for the purposes of the case but he has refused. His reply is as follows:—

"I am directed to inform you that Government are unable to accede to the request that Mr. S. C. Bose should

be brought to Calcutta for the purposes of the action referred to."

This attitude of Govt. is very surprising. Please let me or Messrs Dutt and Sen have further instructions in the matter.

I am glad to tell you that father is looking better. He went down to Cuttack yesterday but will be coming back again after a fortnight or so.

Aruna's marriage has been settled with Paresh Shome's brother. The marriage will come off this month (Baisakh). How we wish you had been here!

Yes, Asoke is improving as a spinner. Ami also spins whenever he is so minded, but he is too flighty and sometimes gives it up for weeks.

I have engaged a teacher of music for Ami and Mira. Ami is keen on music. I shall engage a drawing master for the boys during the summer vacation.

So long today. This leaves us well.

Yours v. affly
SARAT

Subhas Chandra Bose Esq.

176. *To Sarat Chandra Bose*

Censored and Passed
Illegible
11/5/26
for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.
Bengal

Mandalay
30.4.26

My dear brother,

Your letter of the 17th April reached me on the 24th. I wrote to the Book Company in March for the following books:

1. প্রান্তোষণী (Prantoshinee) by Ram Toshan Bhattacharya
2. তন্ত্রসার (Tantrasar) by Rasik Mohon Chattopadhyaya

3. বৃহৎসংসার (Brihat-trantrasar) by Agambagish Srimat Krishnananda
4. শাক্তানন্দ তরঙ্গিণী (Shaktananda Taranginee) by Srimat Brahmananda Giri
5. শ্যামারহস্য (Shymarahasya) by Srimat Purnananda Paramahansa
6. তারা রহস্য (Tara Rahasya) Do.
7. পুরোহিতদর্পণ (Purohit darpan)
8. Shakti and Shakta by Woodroffe
9. Another book on Tantra by Woodroffe

They have sent me nos. 4, 5, 6, and 7. They have sent me 5 books of Woodroffe which I did not want. They have also sent me "Principles of Tantra" 2 vols by Shivachandra Vidyarnava (English translation) which are priced at Rs. 20/-. I have got Shivachandra's original work in Bengali (তন্ত্রতত্ত্ব) which I have already read. It will not be of any use to buy the English translation for Rs. 20/- for the sake of an introduction by the translator. By the way the original work in Bengali is priced at Rs. 6/- only. Under the circumstances please consult the Book Company and let me know if I should return the 2 vols of Principles of Tantra. The five books of Woodroffe which have been sent do not deal with the Tantras but I may keep them (though I am not anxious) as they cost in all Rs. 11/- only. Please inform the Book Company that they need not send me any more books of Woodroffe—if they have not already placed orders on my behalf. If they have already placed orders, they may send me "Shakti and Shakta" and a book on Tantras by Woodroffe. I have since discovered that the book which Woodroffe wrote on the Tantras (I think the name is "Trantra Shastras") is not useful from my point of view. If you think it would be desirable to stock all the books of Woodroffe for our library—that is a different matter.

Please inform the Book Company that I want books marked 1, 2 and 3 above. If nos. 1 and 2 are not available, I am sure that no. 3 is. It is a publication of the Basumati Press and I find the book advertised in their catalogue. Please instruct Gopali or some one else to see the Manager of the Book Company regarding the above points as early

as possible.

There is no prospect of our transfer to a cooler place in summer.

Please let me know what books in particular you would feel interested in at the moment. I shall send the books from here accordingly.

I have read Chotzner's judgement in the Rangoon and Calcutta papers. I am informed that Justice Gregory has awarded Rupees four thousand plus costs in the libel suit against the *Catholic Herald*. The damages awarded in both cases are not at all up to our expectations—but anyhow the principle for which we stood has been vindicated.

I think *The Statesman* in their written statement said that I was, but am not at present, the C.E.O. of the Calcutta Corporation. The Corporation year book and the Quarterly Civil List, published by the Bengal Govt. may be quoted as documentary evidence against what they say.

I am glad to know that father is better and that Aruna's marriage will be celebrated this month i.e. Baisakh.

To which class does Asoke belong now? The yarn he has spun is very fine indeed. I think he should also take lessons in music and in drawing too if possible.

Have you been able to discover which line he is likely to take up when he passes out of school?

You may suggest to *Sejdada* that he may try to manufacture tongue-scrapers (জিবছোলা) along with combs. They will have a good sale in India. A good celluloid tongue-scraper is sold in Mandalay for Rs. 1/8- or Rs. 2/-.

Who will pay the damages on behalf of the *Catholic Herald*? I believe the Editor is now in England.

Hope this will find you all quite well. I am so so.

Yours v. affly
SUBHAS

S. C. Bose Esq.
38/1, Elgin Road
Calcutta.

P.S.

The South Calcutta National School authorities want a play-

ground (probably Hazra Park) for their boys. Can you help them? I don't know whether the matter is now in the hands of the C.E.O. or the Dist. Committee.

S.C.B.

177. To Sarat Chandra Bose

Censored and Passed
Illegible
13/5/26
for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.
Bengal

Mandalay Jail
Saturday 1st. May '26.

My dear brother,

I am sending you a press cutting from a Rangoon paper regarding the libel suit against the *Catholic Herald*. It is not clear from the report whether the defendants put up defence or not. Who was the plaintiff's Counsel? I hope the Calcutta papers which will arrive on Tuesday will give me all the information I want.

Regarding *The Statesman* suit, it is not clear which party applied for the adjournment. When is the examination on commission going to take place? I am interested to know all about this suit.

What line are the defendants going to take up? Are they going to stick to what they have said in their written statement?

It will be necessary probably to have a consultation with my lawyers before I am examined on commission. In case it is necessary, I hope the necessary arrangements will be made. It is hardly necessary to state that the interview with my lawyers should be a private one and should not be held in the presence of a C.I.D. officer—as in the case of other interviews. In whose Court is *The Statesman* suit coming up?

Are you going to spend the whole of summer in Calcutta? How are you feeling this year? When is Aruna's marriage taking place?

I was interested to read what Mahatma Gandhi wrote about the easiest method of expediting the release of detenus.

When you visited Mandalay last year, did you purchase any Burmese curios? What are the things which struck you as beautiful and as peculiar to Burma?

Hope this will find you all quite well. How has Gopal fared in his examination? I am so so.

Yours v. affly
SUBHAS

S. C. Bose Esq.
38/1, Elgin Road
Calcutta.

Enclosure:

LIBEL SUIT AGAINST "CATHOLIC HERALD".

MR. SUBHAS CHUNDER BOSE'S CLAIM.

Plaintiff Awarded Rs. 4000.

Calcutta, April 29; At the High Court today Mr. Justice Gregory disposed of the suit brought by Mr. Subhas Chunder Bose against Father F.A. Gile Editor of the *Catholic Herald* claiming Rs. 50,000 as damages for publishing the alleged libellous article. Plaintiff passed the Indian Civil Service but resigned and later on was appointed the Chief Executive Officer, Calcutta Corporation when he was arrested and confined in Mandalay Jail under the Bengal Ordinance. The alleged libel was in a letter said to have been written by the father of Mr. Bose which subsequently proved to be false. This letter was copied by *The Englishman* and *The Statesman* and Mr. Bose brought two other suits against these papers. The suit against *The Englishman* had been decreed and Rs. 2000 awarded to Mr. Bose as damages. In the present suit the Judge held that the words imputed to the plaintiff's father amounted to an admission that plaintiff had been connected with revolutionary activities and this publication constituted a serious libel. His Lordship decreed the suit and gave damages for Rs. 4000 with costs.

In the suit against *The Statesman* an application for adjournment was made to have plaintiff's examination on commission as Government had not permitted Mr. Bose to come to Calcutta to give his evidence. The application will be moved on a later date.—A.P.

178. From Sarat Chandra Bose

Censored and Passed
Illegible
6/5/26
for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.
Bengal

38/1, Elgin Road
5th May 1926

My dear Subhas,

Your application in the suit against *The Statesman* has not been heard yet. It will probably come on for hearing tomorrow. Sir Binod Mitter and Mr. N. N. Sircar have been briefed to appear for you. Langford James is appearing for *The Statesman*.

There is a talk of referring the suit against Birla Jute Mills Co. Ltd. to my arbitration. On Birla's behalf it was suggested that the matter might be referred to two arbitrators—I being one of them. I have declined to act as one of two arbitrators and have told them that if both parties agree to my *sole arbitration*, I am prepared to act. The contractors are agreeable but I have not heard from Birla's side yet.

If the court orders a commission in your case, probably I shall have to come to Mandalay. I wonder if there are competent lawyers at Mandalay who can take instructions from you and examine you in Chief. If there are none, I shall have to take Counsel & Attorney from here. You might ask the Superintendent of your jail to enquire if there are competent Counsel at Mandalay. In the meantime you might also prepare a note on the libellous statements contained in *The Statesman* article. I suppose you remember that the libel consists in describing you "as the directing

brain of the revolutionary conspiracy." Of course, the onus of proof is on *The Statesman*. But any facts which would enable us to destroy the defendant's case would be helpful.

Justice Gregory's judgement in the suit against the *Catholic Herald* was quite a strong judgement. He held that the words used by the *Catholic Herald* constituted 'very serious libel' and he awarded Rs. 4000/- damages. The Editor, *Catholic Herald*, has fled the country and the paper has also been stopped. There will be considerable difficulty therefore in realising damages from the Editor, *Catholic Herald*. *The Englishman* will, in all probability, pay us soon.

I trust you are taking as good care of your health as it is possible under the circumstances.

Did you receive any letter from Mrs. Das from Patna? She hasn't got any acknowledgment from you. She is here now and will be here for some time more.

This leaves us fairly well.

Yours very affly
SARAT

P.S.

Aruna's marriage has had to be postponed because of the disturbed condition of the city.

SARAT

179. To Sarat Chandra Bose

Censored and Passed
Illegible
3/4/26
for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.
Bengal

Mandalay
26.3.26

My dear brother,

Your letter of the 15th inst, reached me on the 23rd. I had received your letters of the 22nd Feb. 27th Feb., 1st March and 6th March prior to that.

The telegram which you received from me on the 27th Feb. was handed in here on the 21st Feb.—the one you received on the 27th was handed in on the 25th Feb.—the one you received on the 2nd March was handed in the same morning (i.e. 2nd March)—the one you recd. on the 3rd was handed in the same day (i.e. 3rd March). The telegram you recd. on the 7th March asking you to withhold the news from parents was handed in on the 26th Feb.

Your telegram to me communicating the result of Mr. Goswami's adjournment motion in the Assembly was received by me on the 27th Feb. It was probably despatched on the 25th or 26th from Calcutta. I sent a reply to it the same day to the following effect:—

“Your telegram though weak well no anxiety stop strike continues till honourable settlement Subhas Bose”

We received Rs. 28/5- per head for books during the whole period of our confinement.

I was interested to read in the *Bengalee* the other day that there is a rumour in Calcutta that we may be transferrred to Madras.

I have not yet received any books from home. I am writing to the Book Company today asking them to send me a few more books. Please ask the Book Company to send me a complete list of the books they have sent me uptill now. I want to compare their list with mine.

I received a message from Babu Romesh Chandra Ganguli and his father after the strike. Please ask Khuro to tender my thanks to them for the message. Romesh Babu is your sports reporter, I think.

I hope you preserve the letters I write to you. They may be useful later on.

I wrote to the Laxmi Bank on the 20th March asking them to keep the matter pending till my return.

I find that Mr. Sengupta always refers to the detenus in his speeches as “Young Men.” Personally I have no objection to the expression and I would like to be called “Young” even when I am fifty. But as a matter of fact there are detenus who are older than Mr. Sengupta. Under the circumstances the expression is likely to give a wrong

impression.

It is not possible to inform you all about all the causes that led to the hunger strike. The complete story will not be told for a long time to come, until we are released. It will suffice to say for the present that no one in his senses wants to lay down his life for the fun of it and that the step was taken by us after mature deliberation. We have already told Moulana Shaukat Ali and *Rangamamababu* that we did not at all agree with the instructions and advice sent from Calcutta and Delhi and I am not sure that we acted rightly in suspending the strike. I hope Moulana Shaukat Ali will represent our views as faithfully as his memory will permit him when he is in Calcutta.

I am anxious to know how father is doing.

It is quite hot here now—quite a furnace I should say.

If we are going to Madras shortly it will not be necessary to have any more interviews in this province. In future, when I have any interviews let them not come as a surprise. If I am informed beforehand I can ask for any things or book I may want from Calcutta.

Hope this will find you all quite well.

Yours v. affly
SUBHAS

S. C. Bose Esq.
38/1 Elgin Road
Calcutta

180. To The Manager,
Book Company, College Square, Calcutta.

Mandalay
26.3.26

Dear Sir,

I shall be obliged if you send me the following books at your earliest convenience:—

- 1) Prantoshinee (a book on Tantra)—Compiled by Sri Ramtoshan Bhattacharya and published by Prankrishna Biswas.
- 2) Tantrasar (a book on Tantra)—Published by Sri

Rasikmohan Chattopadhyay.

- 3) Brihantantrasar (published by Basumati publisher)
Written by Srimat Krishnananda. Rs. 2/-
- 4) Tarangini—by Srimat Brahamanandagiri.
- 5) Shyama Rahashya—by Srimat Purnananda Paramahansa.
- 6) Tara-Rahashya—by Srimat Brahmanandagiri.
- 7) Purohit Darpan—(Available at Basumati office)

No. 4, 5, 6, 7—all published by Basumati and available there—If bought together, the cost will be Rs 1 and annas 8.

- 8) Shakti and Shakta by Woodroffe.
- 9) Another book on Tantra by Woodroffe (I forget the name of the book)

Please send me a list of the books you have sent me uptill now. I want to compare your list with mine.

Yours faithfully
SUBHAS C. BOSE

To
The Manager
Book Company.

181. To Gopabandhu Das

Mandalay
(C/o. D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.
Bengal
13 Elysium Row
Calcutta)
7.4.26

My dear Gopabandhu Babu,

Your letter of the 20th February was to hand some time ago. I have not been able to trace the first parcel of books you sent. The Jail Office people say that no parcel was received. The second parcel has not been received either—I have been frequently enquiring of the Jail Office. Your letter to the Jail complaining about the non-delivery of the books has been received here. I do not know however if

you have received any reply. I now intend to get some Oriya books from some Calcutta shop direct. I shall be glad if you could give me the following information :—

- 1) Name of the author of a good Oriya-Bengali or Oriya-English dictionary.
- 2) Name of a good English or Bengali grammar for studying Oriya together with the name of the author.
- 3) Name of some suitable interesting books in Oriya which I can commence studying as soon as I am able to read tolerably well.
- 4) Name of any History of Oriya literature in English, Bengali, or Oriya.
- 5) Names and addresses of bookshops in Calcutta or Cuttack or Puri where Oriya books are stocked.

The reports of the disaster in Puri District are extremely distressing. I feel that the Bengal Relief Committee ought to make a grant to Orissa on this occasion. As far as I am aware, there is a reserve fund at the disposal of the Committee out of which Khadi work is now being carried on. I believe Babu Satish C. Dasgupta (Dr. P.C. Roy's Secretary) will oppose such an idea as on the occasion of the South India floods, but public opinion, as well as the opinion of the majority of the Committee, will strongly support the idea. I can speak with confidence as I know the state of affairs. However, I don't think I can do anything myself as long as I am in this state.

Orissa should be interested in the Utkal tannery if Mr. Das is amenable to public control, which I think he now is. If properly worked, it will not only become a financial success but will be a glory to Orissa. Poor as Orissa is from an agricultural point of view, without industrial development it will be impossible to find work and food for her children. The fact that so many Oriyas have to emigrate to distant places is sure proof that the soil is not rich enough to support the entire population. Emigration under present conditions leads to laxity in morals because it causes the break up of the family and involves residence in insanitary and unusual surroundings in strange places where social

checks are practically non-existent. I speak from my experience of Calcutta conditions mainly and I do not think my judgement is wrong.

I hope you will find it possible to resume . . . work in Calcutta in the near future.

I am sorry to learn about the condition of the school.

I am inclined to think that there are two big problems confronting Orissa—and Bengal as well. The first is the river-problem and the second is the problem of co-operative development. In both these provinces we are at the mercy of the rivers but we know so little about the origin and growth of rivers. Our engineers know precious little about river and our public men know still less. Nevertheless I feel that as long as we do not gain some mastery our lives will continue in a precarious condition. I had to study something about rivers in the Civil Service Course. I am now thinking seriously about commencing an intensive study of the problem. The entire drainage of Calcutta depends on the future of the Bidyadhari River. While the drainage problem proper in Calcutta is capable of easy solution the mysterious Bidyadhari has uptill now eluded solution. Dr. Bentley, Sanitary Commissioner of Bengal, is the one man I have met who has some insight into this problem.

Agricultural development as well as the eradication of diseases like Malaria will be possible only if work is started on the co-operative basis. Anti-malarial co-operative societies should be started all over the province. The beginning has already been made in Bengal and not without success. In this connection I would suggest that as in Bengal, a fair percentage of the so-called malaria cases are really cases of kala-azar. We made this discovery when we started work in several villages under the Bengal Health Association. At first the Govt. public health department were inclined to pooh pooh the statistics of the Health Association but now they have agreed. Within the limits of the Calcutta Corporation in addition to running municipal dispensaries, we subsidize the Anti-Malarial Co-operative Society and the Bengal Health Association as well as several Ward Health Associations for the eradication of diseases like

malaria and kala-azar.

I hope I am not becoming unduly pedantic. Nothing is further from my mind. My only object is to compare notes.

Hope this will find you quite well.

With deepest regards,

I am

Yours affectionately

SUBHAS C. BOSE

P.S. Please remember me to friends.

S.C.B.

182. To Bivabati Bose*

Mother Durga be with us

Mandalay Jail

9.4.26

My dear Mejobowdidi,

I received your last two letters in due time but have so far not been able to reply to them.

I have received the comb and the box of matches made by *Sejdada*. They are quite good. I hope the quality will improve in course of time.

It is extremely hot here now. During the day we feel like fried prawns. But the nights are relatively cool, so sleep is not disturbed.

For the time being I am not taking Kaviraji medicines. If necessary I shall resume taking them after some time.

I have received two dhoties made out of yarn spun by Asoke and Aruna. The same parcel also brought us a packet of *papad*. Please have clothing made with such yarn for those who have done the spinning—they will feel even more enthused when they get things made out of their own yarn.

When life gets dull, one needs some novelty from time

* Translated from the original Bengali.

to time. Keeping birds and pigeons is just such a diversion. Yesterday we obtained a parrot—next month we shall get a *Myna*.

I do not understand why you did not receive the papers I sent with my last letter. Such trouble does occur from time to time.

Please let me know how Gopali fared in his examination. In which class is Asoke now?

I am not writing to *Mejdada* this week. Nowadays we feel as if we have developed a vested interest in prison. We do not think that anybody can drive us out of prison very easily.

I hope all of you are keeping well. How are parents? My *pronams* to all of you.

Yours
SUBHAS

183. *Te Sarat Chandra Bose*

Censored and Passed
Illegible
1/5/26
for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.
Bengal

Mandalay Jail
23.4.26.

My dear brother,

Your letter of the 5th inst, reached me on the 13th. It is getting hotter here every day. I think the heat has already surpassed that of last year.

My anticipations regarding the result of a premature suspension of the strike have proved to be true.

I am glad to learn that after all the troubles in Calcutta are over. I hope a sifting non-official enquiry will be held into the real causes of the trouble.

How do you find the heat there now? Where are father and mother now and how are they doing?

I do not know if it will be possible to write to you in future. I shall do so as long as I am allowed.

Hope this will find you all quite well. I am so so.

Yours v. affly
SUBHAS

S. C. Bose Esq.
38/1 Elgin Road
Calcutta.

184. *From Sarat Chandra Bose*

Censored and Passed
Illegible
3/5/26
for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.
Bengal

38/1, Elgin Road
3rd May 1926.

My dear Subhas,

Your letter of the 23rd ultimo was to hand yesterday. I do not think I have written to you after the 5th April, but two letters were despatched to you after that viz. on the 17th & 29th April. I hope you have received them. I have made a mistake—the letter of the 17th was mine. I referred in that letter to the correspondence that passed between your attorneys Messrs Dutt & Sen and Government regarding bringing you down to Calcutta for the purpose of giving evidence in your case against *The Statesman*.

I have been busy with various things the whole of last month and I am afraid I have neglected you. Hope you won't mind it.

We all thought that the communal troubles had been over. But they reappeared in a more violent form. I suppose the local papers there have given some details about the terrible state of things in the city for the last few days. From yesterday however, calm has set in and I hope there will be no further outbreak.

We have made an application for adjournment of your case till after the Long Vacation or in the alternative for

your examination on commission at Mandalay. Sir Binod Mitter is appearing for you and Langford James for *The Statesman*. The application will come on this afternoon and I shall let you know the result of it.

It is no use trying to explain to you *now* the reasons which prompted us to advise that the hungerstrike should be suspended. If I were to write to you, I don't think the letter would be passed. So I must wait till you are out. You needn't take it, however, that (though we advised suspension of the hungerstrike) we failed to appreciate the force of the arguments against such suspension.

It is very hot here. Father is at Cuttack but mother is still here. It has not been settled yet as to when she will go down.

It is no use concealing the fact that we are all anxious about your health, specially because of the heat there. I really do not know what can be done if Government persists in its unreasonable attitude.

What has alarmed me more is your statement "I do not know if it will be possible to write to you in future. I shall do so as long as I am allowed." Surely you don't mean the right of writing a few letters home every month is going to be denied you. It is difficult to believe that such a step can be thought of, so far as you are concerned. But the unexpected sometimes happens. I am anxiously waiting for your next letter which I hope will throw light on the subject.

Do write to us a little more in detail about your health. We are petty well.

Yours very affly
SARAT

Subhas C. Bose Esq.

185. To Santosh Kumar Basu

Censored and Passed

Illegible

26.4.26.

for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.,

Bengal.

C/o D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.

13 Elysium Row

Mandalay Jail

My dear Mr. Basu,

I was so glad to receive your letter. I am relieved to learn what you have written about lighting. I am glad to learn particularly that you are going to bring up the matter before the P. U. committee and I feel sure that the matter will receive your careful consideration. I hope the Corporation will not easily give up the idea of municipalizing street-lighting (whether gas or electricity) unless there is a very strong case against it. If necessary you should have the estimates of the Lighting Superintendent examined by independent experts without relying wholly on him. If necessary, you may invite public opinion through the columns of the Gazette and you will have to consult experts, if they are available. If unfortunately the work has to be entrusted to a private company, I hope you will make it a point to advertise in the Continent for tenderers and not in England alone. All this will take time and that is why it is desirable to come to a decision as early as possible. In dealing with the case for municipalization, the possibility of utilizing the by-products for commercial purposes should not be lost sight of.

I heartily approve of the policy of electrifying all the new streets—particularly in the added areas. I do not know if any appreciable advantage would be gained by buying current from the C.E.S. Corporation and lighting the Central Office, Market etc. ourselves. Unless there be a saving in expenditure or greater convenience, it would not be wise to add to our departmental work and strengthen the claims

of the Lighting Superintendent to an increase of pay.

I do not think the lethal chamber scheme for the destruction of pariah dogs has yet materialized. How do matters stand now?

I hope you will not drop the cold storage scheme easily. If necessary, you should consult the fish, meat and fruit dealers if they would be benefited by the instalment of a plant. If they are benefited, we can charge a fee for the use of the plant in order to recoup the expenditure incurred.

I do not know if our market offices prepare an abstract of the average prices of different food-stuffs for the month. I think it would be useful to prepare averages for the month and compare same with those of the corresponding month of the last few years or later on of the succeeding years. We could thereby find out at a glance whether prices have been going up or down. The lists of these averages may be placed before the P. U. and Markets Com. and may be published in the Gazette. At the end of a year, the average prices for the year should also be worked out. In all the municipal markets these averages should be worked out and the mean average for the whole of Calcutta should be deduced therefrom by the Market Controller. The Market Controller should study these averages closely—should try to discover why prices vary in different markets and find out means for reducing prices. It would be advisable to consult Mr. S. C. Roy (Dy. Ex. Officer) regarding this question. For the study of Indian Economics, these figures would be of great use later on. They would also be useful in testing the demand of municipal employees for higher pay. It would suffice, I think, to deal only with the prices of necessities—leaving out the luxuries. I do not know whether the Market Controller has so far taken any steps to increase the food-supply or to reduce prices. The first step in that direction would be to know exactly how prices stand and to check as far as possible all profiteering on the part of the dealers. The easiest palliative would then be to effect a redistribution of foodstuffs locally, from one market to another, so as to bring down the prices of commodities that may be in great demand at a particular place. This redistribution may be effected through the

agency of the dealers themselves or of the Corporation—if the law does not stand in the way.

It is not possible to have a central market which can serve as a model for the whole of Calcutta for all kinds of things even if it be desirable. The Hogg Market can be a central market for meat and fruits. College St. Market should be developed into a central market for fish—which is the staple food of the local population. Sealdah is the best site for a central milk market. It is on these lines that the markets in Calcutta should be developed. I am afraid, however, that there is hardly any conscious policy behind the development of our markets. We have so far been groping our way in the dark, as it were. I am concerned here only with food-stuffs and not with all kinds of commodities. Before sanctioning the extension of any market, there should be in our minds' eye a vision of the market as it is to be. Without this vision, the development is bound to take place in a blind and haphazard manner and when the market extension is complete it will be found that the market as a whole is exceedingly ill-arranged. I am afraid this will happen in the case of the College Street market.

How do you find the Education Officer? Besides doing his departmental work, there are four things for which he should equip himself:—(1) preparing departmental estimates for compulsory primary education in the different wards and collecting relevant facts regarding the census of the school-going population under a compulsory scheme, (2) making himself conversant with kindergarten principles and with the main facts of educational psychology, especially with reference to children (3) preparing a sound system of text-books for children of different grades and discovering the proper men to write these books (4) organization of a training school for our teachers. As the work develops in magnitude, the emoluments of the Education Officer should be increased until he gets the same pay as the head of any other department. It will of course take several years to make the Education Dept. a full-fledged department but that should be the prospect before us. A department which is responsible for the education of all the

indigent boys and girls of Calcutta of school-going age cannot fall short of any other department in the matter of importance.

Re—municipal banking, I think we shall have to fight shy of it for some time to come and I quite agree with you there.

How are the stores for sweepers working? I have had no information about them at all.

I think the Corporation should get into touch with the Cal. University regarding two problems. The first problem is the medical examination of the students of all the Schools and Colleges in Calcutta. The second problem is the opening of a sub-department in the domain of Political Science for teaching Municipal Government to the students of Political Science. Lay men have no idea of the extent to which specialization has been going on within the subject of Political Science itself in Europe and America. America, in particular, has made a science of municipal administration itself and heaps of books have been written regarding the principles and methods of municipal administration. There is a great advantage in including Municipal Govt. within the curriculum for Political Science. It will make one aspect of the whole subject of Pol. Science altogether realistic and we can help the university students to obtain an inner knowledge of the working of the Municipality including its financial side. You may have a talk with Councillor Ramaprasad regarding this question.

Regarding health examination, I think it advisable to have a regular examination once in 2 or 3 years if an annual examination be not possible. This will give us an exact idea as to whether the succeeding batches of students are improving or degenerating in the matter of physique. This work will entail collaboration on the part of the University, Corporation and Health Associations.

16.4.26.

I commenced this letter more than 2 months ago but it has been lying unfinished. In the meantime much water has flowed down the Hooghly and the Irrawady. I shall now put a finishing touch to this and send it on.

I was sorry to learn from my brother's letter that malaria had been raging in an epidemic form in several parts of the city.

I am glad that the Corporation has sanctioned an educational survey of the city. This should have been done last year but better late than never.

I have followed with great interest your fight in connection with the Bidyadhari. I hope you will not forget that you will have to get a competent River Engineer from abroad before you can solve the problem. Why don't you advertise in England, America and the Continent from now? It will take you months, if not years, to get a suitable engineer.

In the meantime I should correspond with Dr. Bentley regarding the possibility of experimenting with the Bidyadhari by means of models with the object of discovering or predicting the future course of the waterways in the Salt-Lake Area. Such experiments have been carried on in Europe (in the case of the River Mersey, for instance, I think) with very good results. The Corporation has to remember that before the new Main Drainage Scheme can be decided upon, the future course of the waterways has to be predicted. Our predictions may go wrong but it is on them that the main drainage scheme will have to be based.

Is Mr. Wilkinson coming back again or is he going home for good? I should be sorry to lose him.

How do you find the new Superintendent of the Motor Vehicles Dept.? Have things improved since Wacha's time?

By-the-way, months ago I sent a report regarding some pilfering etc. in Dt. IV Gowkhana in connection with fodder, gram etc. My report was submitted at the request of the E.G.P. Committee. Do you know if this matter has been considered by the Committee or if my report has been suppressed?

Is Mr. Coats back now?

I am afraid the Roads Dept. will have to be reorganised root and branch. Though I am not as a rule enamoured of centralization, I feel constrained to think that for some years to come the roads dept. should be centralized under a separate specially-trained roads engineer. Under the present

system, you cannot raise the level of efficiency to an appreciable extent. I know the Dist. Engineers and Mr. Coats will be against this but the financial interests of no existing incumbent need suffer under the new scheme.

Please do not allow the small-pox epidemic to be forgotten. The causes of its periodic recurrence have to be investigated into.

Have you got the full report of the Retrenchment Officer yet?

Our Accounts Dept. is exceedingly efficient—I am proud to say—but the officers are sometimes over-zealous. I had to pull up the Chief Accountant now and again when I was there. I am sorry that the riots took place—our cup of misfortune is full. I wonder what has taken possession of the country's soul. I do not expect to hear about the real causes of the riots and the agents behind the scenes till I am free. I thought that Bengal was free from communal troubles but that is not to be.

Hope this will find you all quite well. I must stop here for today. With kindest wishes,

Ever yours fraternally
SUBHAS C. BOSE

S. K. Basu Esq.
10A, Gopal Ghose Lane
Kidderpore
Calcutta.

186. *To Basanti Devi**

Censored and Passed
Illegible
3/5/26
for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.
Bengal

Mandalay Jail
(C/o D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.
Bengal
13 Elysium Row, Calcutta)
26.4.26

Revered Mother,

I duly received your letter of the 6th February but was

* Translated from the original Bengali.

unable to answer it for various reasons. I did not write to you in the expectation that you would write back to me. Nevertheless, to read a few lines from you after such a long time filled my heart with joy. But then, when I read through the letter all my joy vanished. I thought, if we were free, we could perhaps bring you some consolation. It is nearly a year and half now that we are all, so to say, completely mother-less. God only knows when this long night of exile will end. It looks as if we are getting accustomed to this darkness. And the light outside appears to be getting farther and farther from us. The agony of incarceration that I used to feel during the early part of our imprisonment is getting less and less, and instead, a feeling of resignation is getting hold of my heart; I cannot always make out whither I am going. What purpose is He seeking to fulfil by sending us to exile is something that I can hardly comprehend. That is why I am praying to Him all the time that He may, through all this misfortune and obstacles, direct the course of my life, worthless, unfulfilled and lustreless though it may be, to Himself.

I can realise that He has rendered us so completely helpless in order to fulfil His own inscrutable purpose. But have I been able to come nearer Him in spite of being in such a helpless state for as long as a year and half?

Well, let me leave all that, I started off to write something different. I do not know when I shall have the privilege of seeing you again. But I cannot help thinking about you; hardly a day passes when you are not in my thoughts. I would consider myself thrice blessed if I could, with my whole being, comfort you and serve you. But that is not to be perhaps.

I can write no more today—so let me stop. Let me take leave of you for the present, mother. Please accept pronams from all of us.

Devotedly Yours
SUBHAS

187. *To Sarat Chandra Bose*

Censored and Passed

Illegible

14/5/26

for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.,
Bengal.

Mandalay
7.5.26.

My dear brother,

I have not heard from you for some time past. I hope the second communal outbreak has come to an end by now and there is peace in Calcutta once again. The whole affair is so regrettable. I hope serious attempts will now be made to arrive at a lasting settlement on the basis of goodwill and not of fear.

A sum of Rs. 200/- has been sanctioned for the purchase of books for Mandalay and Insein Jails. We do not know our exact share yet.

Govt. have sanctioned a sum of Rs. 30/- per head per annum for religious observances. The order is so general that it seems to be applicable to all detenus. The net gain is that Govt. have yielded on the question of principle but we would have got a much more liberal allowance if we had not suspended the strike prematurely.

The personal allowance of Rs. 7/- per mensem for toilet requisites, papers, stationery and sundry articles has been raised from Rs. 7/- to Rs. 15/- per month.

An extra allowance of about Rs. 100/- per head on an average has been sanctioned for clothing, bedding etc. to meet our requirements uptill August next. The allowance for next year will not however exceed the present figure viz. Rs. 225/- per annum. Only in my case it has been raised to Rs. 325/- per annum.

This year is going to be drier than last year. We have not had a drop of rain yet though last year we had intermittent showers which helped to temper the heat. The result is that there are cases of small-pox in the town and also

a case inside the jail.

How are you all doing? When will father be going to Kurseong? He has written to say that he may be going down by the end of this month. Is there any news of Nadumama? How has he done in his examination?

I am glad that the Calcutta University is going to make Bengali the medium of instruction up to the Matriculation standard. The present and future batches of school boys should make a closer study of Bengali literature than we did. Only now am I trying to make up what I consider to be a defect in my education viz. a colossal ignorance of Bengali literature. The medieval literature of Bengal is a treasure—more so than the modern in many ways.

I am so so. I hope Aruna's marriage will be over by the time this reaches you.

Yours v. affly
SUBHAS

B. C. Bose Esq.
38/1 Elgin Road
Calcutta.

188. *To Sarat Chandra Bose*

Mandalay
17.5.26

My dear brother,

There was a paragraph in one of the Rangoon papers two or three days ago regarding the suit against *The Statesman*. Unfortunately the language was so clumsy that one could not make anything out of it. I however gathered that the Court was making a reference to the Govt. and that the matter was adjourned till the hearing of the suit.

The Book Company have sent me a list of the books they have despatched up to date. They have made a mistake about Nietzsche's books. They say that on 1.9.25 they sent vols. 3, 12, 15, 16, 13, 11, 10, and on 23.9.25 they sent vols. 10, 12, 3, and on 25.11.25 they sent vols. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 14, 17, 18. They have thus sent duplicate copies of vols. 12

and 10 and triplicate copies of vol. 3. But I received only one duplicate copy of vol. III which I returned through Rangamamababu. The set contains 18 vols. in all and I received 19 in all—but having returned one, I have only 18 with me at present.

21.5.26.

There is a further proof that they have made a mistake. About the same time, this office received 4 vols. of Nietzsche's (viz., 11, 15, 16, 13) works and 19 Bengali books, which were duly passed on to me. They did not receive vols. 3, 12 & 10 along with these books. It therefore appears that vols. 3, 12, 10 were not sent on 1.9.25 but much later—on 23.9.25. I am sending you their letter to me for reference. Please ask some one to go down to their shop and clear up this point.

I could not write to you on Monday. Since then I have received the Calcutta papers and I think I understand the position about *The Statesman* suit better now. It seems to be practically certain now that they will take up the plea of fair comment, though Mr. Langford James seemed to stammer towards the end. I did not, however, understand how Mr. James could make the preposterous claim that the application should be dismissed with costs, when Mr. Sircar offered to withdraw on the assurance given by the former that the plea of fair comment only would be taken up. When is the suit likely to come up for hearing? How do you view the present position of the defendants?

I wonder if Mr. Arthur Avalon, the compiler of Tantric books is the same person as Mr. Woodroffe. In that case the Book Company are not to blame for sending me Avalon's translation of the Tantras. I asked for Woodroffe's book only.

Do you know personally Mr. Rakhal Das Banerji, the historian? I think I could give him some missing links in the history of early and medieval Bengal from Burma records.

We have had one or two light showers of late and it is somewhat cooler now. Can you ask mother and let me know my Rashi (রাশি) & Nakshatra (নক্ষত্র) at the time I was born. I want this to solve a problem that has cropped up while studying the Tantras.

The Inspector General wanted a strict record to be kept of all the papers, exercise books, books etc. supplied to us and to carry out daily searches. He said that if we did not submit to strict discipline, the supply of writing materials was to be stopped. As I wrote to you last week, I had a talk with the Superintendent who was quite reasonable and the matter was referred again to the I.G. for reconsideration. We were also informed by the I.G. that if necessity arose, disciplinary action could be taken against us under certain sections of the Jail code (viz, that we could be confined in separate or solitary cells for certain periods). All these orders would have given rise to considerable unpleasantness and friction but for the tact of the Superintendent. However, I think the trouble has now been allayed. None of the orders has been enforced uptill now and since the Supdt. wrote to the I.G. giving his opinion, we have not heard anything. In the meantime the I.G. paid us another visit and he seemed to be cordial in his manners and talk. So I take that matters have been put right once for all.

Are you going to take a short holiday during summer? How do you find the heat in Calcutta now? When is Mr. S. N. Mullick leaving for England? I learn from the papers that Mrs. Mullick will be accompanying him.

Please persuade Mrs. Das to commence writing a biography of Deshbandhu or collecting facts and material for the biography. This will soothe her in no small measure.

Who is now in charge of the Chittaranjan Seva Sadan. Is Mrs. Das satisfied with the way in which it is being conducted?

How are you all doing? I am so so.

Yours v. affly

SUBHAS

21.5.26.

189. From Sarat Chandra Bose

Censored and Passed

Illegible

31.5.26.

for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.,
Bengal.

38/1, Elgin Road
Calcutta,
27.5.26.

My dear Subhas,

I believe my last letter to you was on the 5th instant. I received your letters of the 30th April, 1st May, 7th May & 14th May on the 12th May, 14th May, 15th May and 28th May respectively.

I have not been able to write to the Book Company yet. I shall do so in the course of the next few days. I shall see that they send you the books you want.

Now a few words about *The Statesman* case. You are right when you say that they have not admitted in the written statement that you are still the C.E.O. We have subpoenaed J. C. Mukherji to prove that fact and asked him to produce and prove the Corporation resolutions on your leave.

In *The Statesman* case, we originally applied for adjournment as your evidence was wanted and Govt. had not acceded to the request of your solicitors to bring you down to Calcutta for the purposes of the case. When the application came on for hearing, Langford James Counsel for *The Statesman* said that he was not taking the plea of justification but only that of fair comment and therefore your evidence was not required and the application for adjournment or in the alternative for commission should therefore be dismissed. Mr. Justice Buckland said that he would adjourn the application till the trial in order to see if Counsel appearing at the trial for *The Statesman* took up the same attitude or a different attitude.

The suit came up for hearing last week and on that date Mr. Page, Counsel for *The Statesman* (Langford James's junior) asked for an adjournment on the ground that he had not got his witnesses for the purpose of proving Lord Lytton's Malda speech. *The Statesman's* attorney had written to our attorneys asking us to admit Lord Lytton's Malda speech. We did not admit it—hence it became necessary for *The Statesman* to prove the Malda speech. The case was adjourned for 3 weeks and costs of the day were allowed to us. That would amount to about Rs. 800/- to Rs. 1,000/-.

I think at the trial your evidence will be necessary—so there will either be an adjournment or a commission. If there is a commission, we shall certainly apply to Govt. for permission to have a private interview with you. As a matter of fact, one of the grounds on which I asked for adjournment was that it was the practice of Govt. to have a C.I.D. Officer present at interviews and it was not possible to conduct cases under such conditions. Let us wait and see what developments take place. We cannot decide yet what steps we shall take for your examination. Probably the case will be heard before Buckland.

I was happy to learn from your letter of the 9th instant that Govt. had after all yielded on the question of principle so far as the grievances of detenus were concerned.

I must stop here today. But before I do so I shall tell you something interesting which took place recently. I met Mr. K. C. Roy of the Associated Press the other day at the *Forward* office. I had not met him before. He told me that the Delhi 'gup' was that a copy of Lt. Col. Mulvany's evidence which appeared in the papers in February last had leaked out from Mandalay Jail. He further said that the detenus had been allowed to read the Jail Committee's report through inadvertence and that was how the evidence of Mulvany saw the light of day. It was *such a brilliant discovery* that I asked Mr. Roy if I could inform you about it. He said certainly. I then said "I am sure this portion of my letter will be censored". He said it could not be. I then said "Shall I put it to the test". He said "By all means

do it”.

Aruna is going to be married this evening. The marriage will be celebrated in Shambazar.

Hope you are feeling better. This leaves us well.

Yours very affly

SARAT

Subhas C. Bose Esq.

190. To Sarat Chandra Bose

Censored and Passed

25.5.26

for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.

Bengal

Mandalay

14.5.26

My dear brother,

Your letter of the 3rd inst. reached me on the 11th inst. and your letter of the 5th reached me on the 12th inst. I have already replied to your letter of the 17th April. I have received *Bowdidi's* letter of the 29th April.

The communal storm is spreading to all parts of Bengal—I see. The whole affair is exceedingly regrettable and just fancy that a year has not yet passed since *Desh-bandhu* left the world. I hope that a searching enquiry will be made into the causes of the trouble. It is evident that the outbreak has not been altogether accidental. Strained relations must have reached a breaking point and only a spark was needed to light the conflagration. The one man who had by the sheer largeness of his heart stemmed the communal tide is no more and we are at sea.

I learn from the Rangoon papers that the Alderman and Councillors have asked for the resignation of the Deputy Mayor. I am anxious to know why this unprecedented step was taken within a month of his re-election. Has this anything to do with the communal troubles?

When the Ali Brothers on the one side and Swami Shradhanand on the other are making provocative speeches it is necessary for all lay men to keep their heads cool and

work for a rapprochement. Personally I do not think that a lasting unity is possible without a cultural rapprochement. Hindus and Muslims are culturally too exclusive to be able to unite on a basis of mutual respect and goodwill.

I am glad to know that Sir B. C. Mitter and Mr. Sircar have been briefed to appear for me. I find from the papers that on being asked by Mr. Justice Buckland as to whether the Pirsoners' Act would be applicable to the present case, Mr. Sircar has taken time to consider the point.

I am anxious to know what line of defence the defendants are going to take up. Have you had any inkling of it? They have stated in their written statement that what they have said is true in substance and in fact. Are they going to attempt to prove the truth of the alleged libel or will they simply take up the plea of fair comment based on the public utterances of prominent members of the Government. The libel seems to me to consist logically of two parts:—(1) that I am a *member* of a revolutionary conspiracy (2) that I am the *directing brain* etc. This of course includes the former. The defendants may urge that the speeches of Government official afforded them some justification for making the allegation—but even from their point of view no justification could have been afforded for the second part of the libel. It is therefore clear beyond a shadow of doubt they were reckless in making the statement which is the subject matter of dispute.

I have not got the plaint with me but I have a copy of the written statement filed by the defendants. Please let me have a copy of the plaint. The prominent lawyers here are all Bengalees—I understand. They must be quite competent in their own way but whether they would do for the present purpose I do not know. In any case they will have to receive instructions from my legal representative from Calcutta who will know more about the defendants than I do. If I have some idea of this line of defence, I shall also be able to give useful instructions. It is necessary for me to have an interview with my lawyers before I am examined in chief and this interview must be a private one. It is necessary to arrange about this with Govt. beforehand, so that

there may not be any trouble at the time of the interview. I shall write to you on Monday (today is Friday) again and in the meantime I shall try to collect more information about the local lawyers. Will the defendants be sending a lawyer from Calcutta in any case or will they simply follow us? If they send a lawyer from Calcutta we also must. Is it necessary to have a lawyer who has a reputation for being independent-minded or will any clever lawyer do?

The reason why I anticipated trouble is this. There are certain rules framed by the Bengal Govt. which exist only on paper and which have never been enforced. Trouble is to arise, no matter where, if an attempt is made to enforce them. There is a rule that cells should be searched daily. Quite recently orders were received from the I.G. Prisons that that rule should be enforced. I had a talk with the Superintendent over the matter and I pointed out to him that that order was unnecessary and uncalled for and would only lead to unpleasantness. He was quite reasonable and agreed with me. Since then the matter has probably been a subject of correspondence between the Superintendent and the I.G. Prisons—for we have not heard anything more about it and in the meantime the rule has not been enforced. There are one or two other points which I shall mention in my next.

It is very hot here—but you need not be alarmed. I am sure that whenever we have to face a trial, we are given sufficient strength to come out unscathed. My weight has been constant for more than a month in the region of 145 lbs. Thank God. I feel myself up to any degree of hardship.

Please write to the Manager, Mahabodhi Journal, 4A College Square, Calcutta for a list of the books they have on sale and let me have the list when you get it.

I have already written to Mrs. Das. There was some delay unfortunately in replying to her letter. Can't you persuade her to commence writing a biography of Deshbandhu. This will help to keep her engaged and to soothe her mind. If she is unwilling to write a book herself, she may collect the materials in book form and in that case I can

undertake to write it—though I may not be able to do justice to the great soul.

Is it possible to get a complete set of *Narayana* for love or for money? I want to have one. Some people might be preserving complete sets of their own and if approached might be willing to lend them. Will a letter or advertisement in the *Forward* do any good?

Has Hemendra Babu published his life of Deshbandhu? When is Prithwish Babu's going to be out?

I understand that a notice has been served on certain Calcutta papers under section 108 C.P.C. What is the matter and how do things stand now?

In the noise and bustle of political strife Deshbandhu's mission is about to be forgotten. His political activities have left the public vision dazed. As long as politics looms large before the public eye, the real character of his mission will not be understood. His work in the domain of art and literature—and culture in general—seems to be to be his abiding legacy. Unfortunately those who claim to follow his politics are practically ignorant of his cultural mission—while those who realized his cultural mission have all along fought shy of politics. The result is a divorce of culture from politics and an absence of synthesis, for which Deshbandhu pleaded so much. What we need badly today is a revival of ancient and medieval Bengali culture, through a more profound knowledge of history, literature and art. Only such a revival can afford a real basis for future social and national reconstruction—even as a revival of classicism laid the foundation of modern Europe. In contemporary society and culture—in spite of *swadeshi* and non-co-operation—there is much that is exotic and which will never be properly assimilated. These excrescences will have to be operated upon and we shall have to live wholly from within—as Emerson would say—assimilating like a healthy organism all that is brought to us from outside. *Narayana*—and the school it represented—did much to restore to us our cultural consciousness and if its career had not been cut short, it would have completely revolutionized our cultural ideas.

I am afraid I have begun to wander and I must stop.

How is the Chittaranjan Sevasadan going on ? Who are the people in charge of the institution ? Is Mrs. Das putting up with Mr. Haldar ? Where is Bhombal ?

Yes, I was also wondering if we could make the *Catholic Herald* pay.

Hope this will find you all quite well.

Yours v. affly

SUBHAS

S. C. Bose Esq.
38/1 Elgin Road
Calcutta

191. To Sarat Chandra Bose

Censored and Passed
Illegible

4/6/26

for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.
Bengal

Mandalay

26.5.26

Despatched 28. 5.26

S.C.B.

Enclosures :—

2 letters, one of which is
printed.

S.C.B.

My dear brother,

I saw in yesterday's Rangoon papers that *The Statesman* suit had come up before the High Court and that it had been adjourned for 3 weeks. I wonder what made the defendants apply for an adjournment when they say that they are going to take up the plea of fair comment. I am quoting a paragraph from the Capital (A Ditcher's Diary) of the 20th May :—"Apropos . . . the application made by Mr. James before Mr. Justice Buckland synchronised with the publication by *Forward* of a very interesting epistle from Mr. J. A. Jones late editor of *The Statesman* to his successor

in the Chowringhee caserne, Mr. Ray Knight, about Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Corporation whom according to Mr. Justice Chotzner and Mr. Justice Gregory, the *Catholic Herald* and the *Englishman* defamed. To some . . . in College Square the seemingly hurried departure of Mr. James for Simla that night had something to do with the Theory of Justification ; but now we know that they did not know." Please let me know how far the above facts are true.

The time for renewing the annual grant to the Baidyasastrapith is probably approaching. Shyamadas Kaviraj has mentioned casually in his recent letter to me that Jamini Babu has been very active and successful in canvassing the Councillors on his behalf. He says further that Nripen Babu and Ramaprasad are very hostile to his (Shyamadas Kaviraj) College—the former in a most open manner. The fact is as you know, that Jamini Babu is a very clever and shrewd canvasser and some Councillors (e.g. Babu Jogesh C. Sen whose brother is a Kaviraj) are interested in Jamini Babu's College for various reasons of their own. I have always looked upon Jamini Babu as a quack—being half a Kaviraj and half an allopath and I do not think that any institution of which he is the presiding genius will turn out a desirable type of physicians. The danger is that Councillors are so little interested in matters Ayurvedic, that they can easily be influenced to vote in favour of Jamini Babu and thereby dash the Baidyasastrapith.

We are thinking of buying Kashmiri stuff for winter wear in August next. Our financial year begins in August and the clothing allowance will be available about that time. Last year we could not buy *Swadeshi* stuff as there was hardly any time to bring the stuff down from Kashmir. This year we want to make the arrangements in proper time. We shall buy in all at least Rs. 700/- (seven hundred) worth of cloth (for shirts, coats and wrappers). Can you get some samples for us with up-to-date price ? Will it be possible to get any preferential rate from them ?

I received a threatening letter from an unknown source some time before my arrest. The letter was taken away by

the police, along with other papers, at the time of my arrest but it has probably been returned by now. I wonder if it could be made use of in connection with the suit against *The Statesman*. I am not the only member of the Swaraj Party who received such a letter. Why should my life be threatened if, as the Govt. seem to allege, I were a member of a terrorist conspiracy.

I am returning herewith the letter I received from Fitz William House. I think I might as well take the Master's degree since it will cost £ 9/3- in all. I am enclosing herewith a letter to the Bursar which is meant to be a forwarding letter when you send the money.

I shall be wanting some books shortly. I shall send the list to you within a week or two.

Hope this will find you all quite well. I am so so.

How has Gopali fared in his Examination ?

Yours v. affly
SUBHAS

S.C. Bose Esq.
38/1 Elgin Road
Calcutta

Enclosures :

Fitzwilliam House
Trumpington Street
Cambridge

Dear Sir,

I beg leave to remind you that you are now of standing to incept in Arts, that is, to take the Master's degree. The following information is supplied for your convenience in this matter.

Fees.	To the University :	...	...	£3.0 0
	(If matriculated before end of the Lent			
	Term, 1915	...	...	6 0 0)
	(Additional fee for degree by proxy			
	in absentia	...	...	3 0 0)
	To Fitzwilliam House :	...	...	3 3 0

Procedure. 1. Write to me for information as to days of

Congregation in the forthcoming term. (They are usually on Friday or Saturday about once a fortnight and are almost always at 2.0 p.m.)

2. When you have chosen the day you will come send me a note, with the Fitzwilliam House Fee of £3 3 0, and I will send you in return the details of the arrangements and will put in the supplicant.

3. Should you wish to proceed by proxy, you must remit the total fees (£9 3 0 or £12 3 0 as the case may be) before the supplicant is sent in. You must also state the reason for your absence.

4. You have to attend at the Registry before noon on the day of Congregation to sign the Roll and pay your University fee IN CASH.

Yours sincerely,
WALTER HARVEY,
Bursar.

Permanent Address :—
38/2, Elgin Road
Calcutta

Dated the May, 1926

To
The Bursar,
Fitzwilliam House
Cambridge

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter informing me that I am now of standing to take the Master's degree. I am sending you £ 9-3-0 (University—£ 3-0-0 ; Fitzwilliam House—£ 3-3-0; Additional fee for degree by proxy—£ 3-0-0) in order to enable you to make the necessary payments on my behalf.

As I am at present away from England and there is no possibility of my coming over in the near future, I regret that I shall have to proceed by proxy. I shall therefore be

greatly obliged if you be so good as to make the necessary arrangements for the purpose.

Thanking you in anticipation,

I am

Yours sincerely,

S. C. BOSE

192. To Sarat Chandra Bose

Censored and Passed

Illegible

15/6/26

for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.

Bengal.

Mandalay

7.6.26.

My dear brother,

I have been requested by U. Tha Gywe, a barrister and resident of Mandalay, to help a relation of his, Mr. M. S. Gywe in getting admitted into the Carmichael Medical College. Mr. Gywe is one of our non-official visitors and is a nice gentleman. His relation, Mr. M. S. Gywe, is I understand now in Calcutta trying to get admitted. He will probably be seeing you during the course of the next few days. With the permission of the Superintendent I have sent a wire to you this morning asking you to help Mr. Gywe. I believe you are still the Corporation representative on the Carmichael College Governing Body and you may be able to use your influence there. I have also wired to Dr. Bidhan Roy and am writing to him by today's mail.

I have not heard from you for a long time. How are you all doing?

Yours v. affly

SUBHAS

S. C. Bose Esq.

38/1 Elgin Road

Calcutta.

193. From Sarat Chandra Bose

Censored and Passed

Illegible

23.6.26.

for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.

Bengal.

38/1 Elgin Road

21st June 1926

My dear Subhas,

I received your letter of the 7th on the 15th. I also got your telegram of the 18th instant.

Barrister Gywe came to Calcutta the other day and saw me twice. He also saw Dr. B. C. Roy. His son has put in an application (acting under the advice of Dr. Roy) to the Syndicate for permission to join one of the Medical Colleges, though he is not an I.Sc. He put in three years at the Hongkong University as a medical student.

I gave Mr. Gywe a letter of introduction to Jnan Babu (Registrar). I don't know yet what Jnan Babu told him. Mr. Gywe was to have left the next day for Burma but his son was to have come and see me.

I am not on the Governing Body of Carmichael this year. I hear that there is no room in Carmichael College; so if Mr. Gywe's son gets the permission applied for, he will have to try to get into the Calcutta Medical College.

I find that I wrote to you thrice last month—3rd, 5th and 27th May. Did you get all the letters?

Tomorrow is *Bakr-Id*, I hope there will be no disturbances, though the air is thick with rumours that in some quarters there will be trouble.

That brings me to the question of the Bengal Hindu-Moslem Pact. After considering the matter carefully and specially the attitude of *both* communities towards the Pact at the present moment (which attitude is not likely to change), we have come to the conclusion that the Bengal Pact has to be dropped gently and some solution of the Hindu-Moslem question has to be found by the Congress

or the A.I.C.C. or the Working Committee on an All-India basis at an early date. We issued a statement to the Press on Saturday last and I believe it will appear in the Rangoon papers also.

We are convinced that if in the coming elections, Sengupta raises the cry "we stand or fall by the Pact," he will come to grief. While attempts should be seriously made to restore Hindu-Moslem unity, it would be most unwise to bring the Bengal Hindu-Moslem Pact before the public any more. Some agreement on the Pact will have to be arrived at in the Congress at Gauhati or earlier if possible; but it is no use trying to bring back to life a Pact which is being condemned by both communities.

I should like to know your view on our Manifesto.

Your case against *The Statesman* is coming up on Wednesday next.

Hope you are better.

Yours v. affly

SARAT

Subhas C. Bose Esq.

194. To A. C. Ukil*

Mandalay
(c/o D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.)
13, Elysium Row
Calcutta

(Received on
11.6.26.)

My dear Dr. Ukil,

I was very happy to receive your letter. Human vanity is such that we feel somewhat pleased when we are missed by others. This weakness finds expression in Alexander Selkirk's poem while he was abroad—

"My friend, do they now and then

Send a wish or a thought after me?"

* Translated from the original Bengali.

What you have written is very true—I have had ample leisure for self-introspection since I was imprisoned. But unfortunately I could not utilise this opportunity to the desired extent because of physical ailments. There is so much to do, but I do not possess the necessary physical strength now. I have learnt a lot and gained varied experience after coming here but because of weak digestion my capacity for hard work has gone down. There is little hope that my health will improve sufficiently while I am here.

I was sorry to learn that restraint and discipline have gone down among the workers. That was exactly the impression I gathered from the newspapers. It appears that today everybody is a leader unto himself—so they do not want to obey any leader. Who is responsible for the fact that in Bengal now there is nobody who can be called a leader? The leaders or the workers?

It is fact that there is a dearth of workers with sincerity and tenacity. It is also true that those who cannot accept work as a mission cannot turn out to be true workers. But, then, who can create men other than man? Congress politics has now become so unreal that no sincere person can be satisfied with it. After this experience those who desire to do something worthwhile will probably not have anything to do with the Council. There are now three major problems in front of us:—(1) The health problem, (2) the problem of daily bread for the middle class, (3) the agrarian problem.

I have learnt a lot about health problems from Caullic's *Physical Efficiency*, Macdougall's *National Welfare and National Decay* and a number of other books. The health of the English people is far superior to ours, but even they have been up and doing during the past twenty to twenty-five years to effect a further improvement of their physical and national efficiency. A number of National Health Commissions were set up during this time—to find out whether the health of the English people has improved or deteriorated compared to that in the past—and in case it has deteriorated, what are the causes and how to eliminate

them. It will probably be no exaggeration to say that no organised research in this regard has taken place in our country. On the other hand, our health has been going down day by day. In my opinion, Muller's exercise should be introduced in our country on a large scale. One can strengthen his physique by this system without any expense and I feel it will be suitable for our country. I can say this with confidence because I have myself benefited from it. The other good point in favour of Muller is that different systems have been prescribed for men, women and children. Of course the systems are basically the same. You may carry out some propaganda about it.

Unless we get together all the scientists and industrialists of the country and try to solve the problem of livelihood of the middle classes through their united efforts, we shall probably starve to death in the not too distant future. If the middle class dies out in the present state of the country, the nation will be crippled for all time to come.

Our agrarian problem can be solved through co-operation—there is no other way. Co-operative bank is a must but success cannot be achieved through the Co-operative Bank alone. Production has to be increased by reducing the cost of production by the farmers by purchasing seeds, fertilisers, ploughs, cattle, etc. through co-operatives. Thereafter efforts have to be made to sell the farm produce at a higher price through the co-operatives rather than to the monopolists. If the people of the country do not practise co-operation and unity for the solution of the problem of daily bread, they will not be able to work unitedly for a great cause. And, when they see practical results in solving the problem of daily bread by united endeavour, they will be able to unite to achieve any great ideal. The country cannot advance unless the agrarian and health problems are solved through co-operation. What we lack most is initiative. Through co-operative activity the spirit of initiative is created in all and once national initiative comes into play, nation-building is not delayed. I do not think much good will come out of creating more and more hospitals through state effort—

because thereby the spirit of initiative will not be created among our countrymen. Instead of being inspired to act on their own, they will learn to depend upon the government more and more. Of course, for temporary needs hospitals and dispensaries are quite good, but I feel that our aim should be to rouse a sense of activism among our countrymen and thereby, and particularly through united efforts, seek to solve the problems of health, bread and food production.

I am confident that if Labour Education Board, Bengal Health Association and similar bodies are run on proper lines, we can achieve the above aims through them. So, all possible help should be given to them in their work. Maybe, such small organisations will someday grow up to be large national institutions.

What you have written about the Corporation is true. Their health department is largely similar to a government department. Nothing will be achieved until we democratise the department. Work has to go on around the Ward Health Associations—but unfortunately no Ward Health Association has yet become really live. The cause is the same—lack of co-operation and the inspiration to work.

Whenever I am released, I shall return with clear-cut ideas about the tasks ahead.

What is the state of *khaddar*? Is the price rising, or going down? Here it is just prohibitive.

I was happy to learn that *Bidhu* had returned. Where will he work now?

I was glad to receive the National Medical Journal. The journal is very well produced. I have never heard that either the Medical or the Carmichael College had journals like this. Some of the articles appeared to be based on sound research. Printing is also good. I hope the journal will not become the private property of an individual or a group of individuals—and all will join in the effort. To let students write was a very good move. Students' contributions (whether they are good or bad) should be a permanent feature.

I hope all of you are keeping well. I am so so. I need

hardly say that I shall be delighted to hear from you whenever you have the leisure.

With kindest regards,
Yours sincerely,
SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

P.S.

I heard that students of National Medical College have gone on strike saying that their college should be affiliated. I am personally opposed to affiliation and I do not see any reason why the Corporation should give such substantial assistance to the college if it is affiliated. Students have no right to dictate in this matter. Because when they were admitted, they came in on a full understanding of the status of the college. They knew that the college was not affiliated nor was there any hope of it being affiliated. As the state of the college is getting better, a slave mentality is making its appearance. Please convey my views to Sundari Babu and Kumudsankar Babu.

Yours
SUBHAS

195. To Sarat Chandra Bose

Censored and Passed

Illegible

25.6.26

for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.

Bengal.

Mandalay
17.6.26.

My dear brother,

Your letter of the 27th May reached me on the 8th inst. though it was censored and passed on the 31st. I find from what you write that it sometimes takes my letters a fortnight to reach you. When I was in England I used to get my home mail in a fortnight's time. However it is no use complaining.

I find from the papers that Mr. Buckland will be going on leave shortly along with some other judges. In that case some other judge will have to try *The Statesman* case. When do you expect the next hearing to come off?

It is customary to allow under-trial prisoners in political cases to have private interviews with their lawyers. I am positive about this, as I have been able to corroborate my own impression by referring to those who have had personal experience of these cases. Under the circumstances, I do not see any reason why Govt. should treat me worse than an under-trial prisoner in a conspiracy case.

I was amused to hear about the Delhi gossip referred to by Mr. K. C. Roy. It was not only a brilliant discovery as you say—but a piece of poetic imagination. Delhi is near the Himalayas and Simla is perched right on a hill-top—and the snowy Himalayas from time immemorial have had a reputation for stimulating the powers of imagination. I wonder how this Govt. would relish the Delhi diagnosis—having already reported after an exhaustive and sifting local enquiry that nothing leaked from Mandalay!

I saw in the papers some time ago that Lady Mitter accompanied Sir B. C. on his journey to Europe and back. I was wondering if it was a case of the junior influencing the senior. Ten to one, Lady Mitter must have been inspired by Mrs. Sircar's example. Following in the same wake, Mrs. Mullick has now accompanied her husband to England. I think it is a healthy sign that our *purdanashin* ladies want to stir out and see a bit of the world for themselves.

I have got some samples of Kashmiri stuff with me here but they are two years old. That is why I wrote to you for some fresh samples with up to date prices.

Have you been able to forward my letter to Cambridge along with the remittance for the M.A. degree? Has there been any fresh development in the Birla Brothers case?

I was telling *Rangamamababu* when he was here that I did not relish the idea of Sati's cycling down daily to Jadavpur. He is neither strong nor steady as a rider and Russa Road, though wide, has plenty of wheeled traffic. The

tramway connection with Ballygung station will soon be complete (if it is not already complete) and he can then travel by tram car and train to Jadavpur. Till then, would it not be better for him to live in a hostel near the Institute? Of course he will come up for the week-end regularly.

So they have got hold of Mr. P. K. Chakravarti at last? What do you expect will be the fate of this appeal to H.C.?

How is *Natun-mamababu* doing now?

I see that some papers have been adversely criticising Mr. Chakravarti for signing the bond.

18.6.26.

Your letter of 11.6.26 was to hand yesterday. I am interested to learn that Mr. Wilkinson will be going into the witness box. I wonder how Mr. Jones's letter got into the press. I believe *Forward* was the paper which published it first—is it not so? Really, the *Forward* people have become wizards. I have not yet received the cutting you have sent and I am eagerly awaiting it.

Has Woodroffe left any "chelas" or "Gurubhais" among the members of the bar who can continue the work he began? S. Barada Kanta Majumdar from Benaras has written a preface to one of his books and an illuminating one too. Do you know who Barada Babu is?

Dr. Romesh Mazumdar has recently published a book called "Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East." I am trying to get this book. If I find that he has not used the materials which have come to my notice, I shall communicate them to Rakhal Babu. I am sending herewith a few points on which I would like to have some light from Rakhal Babu. If you send the note on to Rakhal Babu he may be able to help me.

I am keeping much the same as before. The weather has been agreeable this month owing to intermittent showers.

Let not my long letters disturb you. You may attend to them at your leisure. Hope all well there.

Yours v. affly
SUBHAS

196. To Sarat Chandra Bose

Despatched 28.6.26 (Monday)

S. C. Bose

Censored and Passed

Illegible

9.7.26.

for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.

Bengal.

Mandalay Jail

26.6.26.

My dear brother,

I believe my last letter to you was on the 18th. I have been waiting anxiously for the letter of Mr. Jones to the editor of *The Statesman* as it has a bearing on my case. I do not know why it has not reached me. Instead of sending a cutting, could you send me a copy of it? I do not see any reason why it should be withheld, as it is a purely legal matter, connected with my case, as far as I am concerned. Please let me know the date of the despatch of that letter (if you have sent it already). I shall write to the C.I.D. Office about it, if it does not reach me ultimately.

I heard several months ago—and I forgot to write to you at the time—that Dr. Kartick Bose was thinking of disposing of his glass factory. His son being ill in France (or somewhere abroad) and he himself being in indifferent health—he was anxious to wind up his glass factory which had proved to be an unprofitable concern. I wanted to pass this information on to *Sejdada* for what it was worth—as he might try and see if he could strike a bargain. By-the-way, how is his concern getting on?

If you happen to meet Hemendra Babu (Dasgupta) anywhere, please tell him that we have not so far received any of his books. I think he sent 4 copies of *Deshbandhu's* life through the C.I.D.

I believe you are particularly busy now with so many irons in the fire. I only hope you will not overstrain yourself—especially when so many things depend on you.

You may tear yourself away from Calcutta and have a short rest at Puri or Kurseong. Mr. P. K. Chakravarti's affair is all out in the Rangoon papers and he himself is responsible for all the publicity he has got. I don't think it has helped him much though, I hope you will select a suitable man in his place. There are so many humbugs on the one hand and learned but unreliable people on the other, in the journalistic world, that one has got to be careful. Above all, in no other walk of life is judging from a distance so difficult. And Bombay journalists are by far the worst I think. They can open their mouths wide and that is about all that could be said about them. Why not employ some intelligent and well-educated young men who have passed out and train them up as journalists? You will get heaps of them as apprentices and you would be doing a distinct service to the country if you could help some of them in getting initiated into journalism. By-the-by, is it not possible to bring Mr. Chakravarti round?

I am keeping much the same as before except that I am feeling somewhat weaker. My present weight is 144 lbs. I want to put in hard work for about 6 months or so, to complete or rather to continue my education which has been sadly neglected for the last 4 or 5 years but I do not feel up to it. I work well for a time but my energy then begins to flag. I sometimes feel that it would be hardly worthwhile for me to make a special study of municipal problems as I would probably be drawn into other fields of activity in the future.

Gopali will probably pass his B.Sc. He may be unable to decide as to his future career. If he does not join *Sejdada*, I would suggest to him to go in for textile manufacture or Geology. Both these fields hold out bright prospects for trained young men. The number of mills (cotton, jute etc.) in Bengal will from year to year be on the increase and avenues of employment will be opened thereby. A geologist, on the other hand, will be in demand all over India and Burma. Engineering, likewise, is a desirable career—but he must specialise in some branch of engineering e.g. drainage or bridge-building or marine engineering. The main thing

is to have ambition and self-confidence.

Hope this will find you all quite well. How are father and mother?

I have just received (5 p.m. today) your message regarding *The Statesman* suit. I have sent the following message in reply—"Rely entirely on your judgement." It is difficult to give a more definite reply when I am not in possession of all the facts of the case, particularly the latest developments. We must try to get the most we can and you must be the judge as to the maximum we can get under the circumstances of the case. There can be no question of generosity.

Yours affly
SUBHAS

197. To Sarat Chandra Bose

Mandalay
30.6.26

My dear brother,

Your letter of the 21st June was to hand yesterday. I duly received your letters of the 3rd, 5th and 27th May and of the 11th June. Since March last, have you received all my letters intact or have any of them being smudged and censored in part?

Please try your best to help Mr. Gywe in getting into one of the Medical Colleges. If necessary please introduce him to Sir Nilratan and other luminaries in the medical world. He might feel helpless in a strange place and as I am myself living in a strange place, I can sympathise with him all the more. I wrote to Dr. B. C. Roy about him and hope he has got my letter. If he can get a seat anywhere I don't think there will be any difficulty about the transfer from one University to another.

Yesterday's Calcutta mail brought me a full account of Wednesday's hearing before the High Court. In my letter of the 26th I gave you my opinion regarding *The Statesman's* offer but I don't know if I made myself quite clear. I have considered the matter further and have come to the con-

clusion that you will have to judge things for yourself in consultation with my attorneys and lawyers. It may not be possible and desirable to write to me in detail about the pros and cons of a particular offer made by the defendants—the reasons are obvious. You need not therefore suspend action till you get my opinion. As I have already told you I rely entirely on your judgement.

I have not heard from Santosh Babu for a long time. If you meet him please ask him to help the student of the South Calcutta National School in getting permission to play in Hazra Park (the new park at the junction of Russa Road and Hazra Road). I don't know whether the matter is now in the hands of the District Committee of the C.E.O. I promised the School authorities to help them in the matter when they approached me about two years ago—but my promise has remained unredeemed.

Some time ago or rather several months ago Khagen Ghosh the Bill Collector of *Forward* sent me a rigmarole of his grievances. (He was also the selling-agent of the paper along the Burdwan line). I did not think I could do anything to help him, particularly as I was not aware of the other side of the case. Do you know anything about his case? By the way, what is Prithwis doing? Has he been able to get a job?

We have been getting the *Sanjibani* (Bengali weekly) edited by Babu Krishna Mitra for some time past. There is one good feature in the paper—their espousal of the cause of helpless women. People in Calcutta have no idea about the extent to which helpless girls and women in the different districts in Bengal suffer at the hands of *gundas*, *Badmashes* and libertines. Public conscience is almost dead on this point—it has to be roused. The *Sanjibani* collects harrowing tales of these outrages and publishes them week after week. There is not a single issue—I think—in which half a dozen cases do not appear. These accounts are followed up by editorial comments and appeal to the public for organised succour to helpless girls and women. I do not know if there is any other paper in Bengal which has thrown itself into this work with so much zeal and enthusiasm. If publicity and

propaganda of this kind goes on for some time, the public will certainly be roused into activity at an early date. I do not know why other papers do not take up this work. Some men smell communalism even in this—but I do not agree with them. No doubt the abductors are in many cases Mohamedan and the victims Hindu maids and widows but the problem is not the communal one. It is purely humanitarian. There are cases in which the abductors are Hindus and there are others in which the victims are Mohamedans—and it is the duty of all—Hindus and Mohamedans alike—to come to the aid of the weaker sex. I have not been able to understand why the Corporation treated Mr. Sahid Suhrawardy in this way. The action of the Corporation has made him a martyr in the eyes of his community. I doubt, though I am still open to correction, if anything good will come out of the committee's enquiry. The Corporation have no power to dismiss him—they will have to approach the local Govt.; and the Government could easily ignore the recommendation of the Corporation asking for his dismissal. If Government take this step they will appear as the champion of the Muslim as against the Corporation which is predominantly Swarajists. If on the other hand the committee or the Corporation do not take the extreme steps of recommending his dismissal all the trouble and labour and ill feeling incidentally caused will be in vain. It would have been much better if the party had tackled him and taken disciplinary action against him or if the matter had ended with a debate in the Corporation. Of course I am not aware of all the facts and my view is tentative.

I have read your manifesto as well as Mr. Sengupta's rejoinder which has remained unanswered uptill now. Reaffirmation of the Pact is out of the question but it is not necessary to abrogate or rescind the pact in its entirety. We should be careful not to play into hands of the anti-Swarajists. I think the proper cry should be—'Modify the Pact'—that would not only be eminently reasonable but would not go against the wishes of our late leader. Even when the Sirajgunj Conference passed the pact there was a volume of inarticulate opposition against it and the late

Deshbandhu Das was aware of it. On more occasions than one, not only in private but in public he made it perfectly clear that his sole object was to place before his countrymen a tangible basis for an understanding between the two communities. He had no objection if individual clauses or items in the pact were found unsuitable or unacceptable and were thereupon modified. At the Coconada Congress—as far as I am aware—he went further and said that he did not want the Bengal pact to be accepted by the Congress there and then but that he only wanted it to be considered by the all India Congress Committee. The house, however, was

I sometimes wonder if you have time to read my long letters.

SCB

S. C. Bose Esq.
38/1 Elgin Road
Calcutta

198. From Sarat Chandra Bose

Censored and Passed
Illegible
12/8/26
for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.
Bengal

38/1, Elgin Road
10th July 1926.

My dear Subhas,

I believe I wrote to you last on the 21st June. Since then, I have received several letters from you, none of which I have answered yet. I shall reply to each and every one of them tomorrow, so that it will be in time for Tuesday's boat.

I am sorry I forgot to send you copies of Jones' letter to Ray Knight and of his note re: conference with Dunne. I enclose them herewith.

Your opinion on the Bengal Hindu-Moslem Pact forti-

of condolence yesterday by wire to mother and the young widow but it seemed so cold and formal from such a long distance. Please try your best to console Mrs. Das and the bereaved family. I wonder how much more they will have to bear. Why is fate so unkind? I have been longing to see Mrs. Das once—God alone knows if the desire will be fulfilled and when if at all.

I understand from *Sejdidi's* letter that Mira had an attack of typhoid—but you did not tell me.

How are you all doing?

Yours v. affly

Bengal Pact a consideration. After the Coconada Congress, the Sirajgunj Conference adopted the Pact (I was not present at the Conference) but before that Deshbandhu had assured his supporters that his attitude was not uncompromising or unreasonable and that he was agreeable to a revision of individual items or clauses in the pact. To me therefore it is perfectly clear that a staunch follower of Deshbandhu can consistently ask for a revision or modification of the pact. At the same time with Deshbandhu or rather after him I do maintain that Bengal should not sit down with folded hands and look up to the A.I.C.C. for a solution. Our solution should be on an all India basis but Bengal must solve her own problems.

I have been following events as far as possible with the help of the papers and have come to certain definite conclusions. What we lack most of all in this crisis is clarity of vision. I fully appreciate the difficulties which the majority party have to face. They did not face the real issues on the 13th June but won a victory on wrong issues or side issues. I hope they will not postpone the issues *sine die* but will face them boldly at an early date. And if Mr. Sengupta is then able to give the right lead, people will follow him.

Yesterday's Rangoon papers brought us the sad news of Bhombal's death—so sad, so untimely and so unexpected. How painful it is that a life so young and rich in promise should meet with such a consummation! We sent a message

fies us in the conclusions we had arrived at. There is only one matter which has to be considered in this connection viz. whether the cry "Modify the Pact" should be raised now or whether we should try to bring about unity on the basis of the Unity Conference resolutions.

Have you gained in weight at all since the hungerstrike? I am anxious to learn that you are feeling weaker.

Mira is, thank God, all right. I did not want to worry you with the news.

Mrs. Das is trying to bear up. I hope and pray that the Lord will give her strength to do so. Your *Bowdidi* has been to see her twice, but though I have been to her house, I haven't been upstairs to see her. I have made up my mind to see her this evening.

This leaves us well. More in my next.

Yours very affly
SARAT

Subhas C. Bose Esq.

Encl—Seven Pages.

Enclosure :

Censored and Passed

Illegible

for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.

Bengal

Copy of letter addressed to Ray Knight, Esq., Messrs. R. Knight & Sons. CALCUTTA, from J. A. Jones, Esq., "THE STATESMAN," LONDON, dated December the 18th., 1924.

My dear Ray Knight,

Though I am writing on urgent business and time is short, may I begin by congratulating you on your excellent recovery from the attack of enteric? As soon as I was told that you were in the hands of my friend Dr. Roberts of Shillong, I was confident that nothing which medical skill and careful nursing could do would be wanting. It is very satisfactory that you are out of danger, and—according to the Anglo-Indian tradition—you will probably be all the better for your illness.

The matter on which I have to write, by the request of

the Burra Sahibs, is the action for libel which S. C. Bose has brought against "THE ENGLISHMAN". Before deciding on their action the proprietors asked me to get the opinion of Mr. A. M. Dunne, whom you may possibly remember as a leading figure at the Calcutta Bar some twenty years ago, and who is now a very busy Counsel for the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. I need not go over the whole story of my interview with Dunne, because you will find a careful note in the Memorandum enclosed herewith. Briefly, Dunne was of the opinion that the second paragraph of the article in "THE ENGLISHMAN" of November 13, up to the words "crimes of violence", could be successfully defended as fair comment; but that the passage containing the reference to the "CATHOLIC HERALD" since it mentioned one of the interned persons by name, and charged him by innuendo with being associated with revolutionary activities, would probably require justification. As "THE ENGLISHMAN" probably has no evidence of its own against Bose, Dunne held that it would be imperative to approach the Bengal Government for all the assistance which they could give, as presumably they had sufficient evidence to warrant Bose's arrest. Unfortunately, according to the official at the India Office who is in charge of these criminal proceedings, the Bengal Government is not likely to be able to help us very much. This official had not the papers in his possession, but speaking from recollection, he believed that there was no documentary evidence against Bose, but only the testimony of highly credible witnesses who spoke of their own knowledge of Bose's connection with the revolutionary activities. Still, it is possible that the Bengal Government may have evidence up their sleeve, and in that case we have a right to hint that if they do not place us in a position to fight what is after all their battle, we shall be compelled to climb down so far as Bose is concerned.

It is clear, however, from the proprietors' letter to us that while, by way of stimulating the readiness of the Bengal Government to assist us we may talk of climbing down, yet if the three counsel whom Lewis has been instructed to brief are agreed that we have a good case, then we should fight.

The counsel in question are Mr. N. N. Sircar, Mr. Langford James and Mr. B. C. Mitter. A cablegram has accordingly been addressed to Watson to the above effect, of which I enclose a copy.

At the moment of writing, Dunne's written opinion, for which we were waiting, has come in, and a copy of it is also enclosed with this letter. It does not, however, appear to modify his original opinion given verbally in conference.

Very Sincerely Yours,
Sd/- J. A. Jones.

P.S. The copy of the cablegram has unavoidably been held over only to the late hour at which Dunne's opinion was sent in.

J. A. J.

NOTE by J. A. Jones re—Conference with Mr. Dunne.

I saw Mr. A. M. Dunne, who, when I told him that I remembered his appearing in the Midnapore Case, became quite cordial and interested. I explained to him the circumstances in which the leading article in "THE ENGLISHMAN" of Nov. 13 was written and at his request read the salient passage.

Mr. Dunne grasped the situation promptly, for, as you say, he has had personal knowledge and experience of politics in Bengal.

Strangely enough, however, he had no copy of Regulation III of 1818, or of the New Bengal Ordinance. I had counted upon his having these documents. But he asked for them and said, towards the end of the conference, that he would not give a final opinion until he had read and considered the Regulation, Ordinance and the pronouncements by Lord Reading and Lord Lytton.

Discussing provisionally the passage complained of, Mr. Dunne divided it (as Rattigan and I had already done in talking it over) into two parts. There is first the passage which reads as follows :—

"Mr. Baldwin registered the fact that Mr. Das has already misrepresented the effect of the new Ordinance and the recent arrests and has pretended that they are directed

against himself and his Party. Mr. Das's desire to add the martyr's crown to the saint's halo which Lord Oliver bestowed upon him is understandable, but it is sheer chicanery to pretend that the arrests were made because the persons arrested were members of the Swarajya Party. They are in confinement today because there was evidence sufficient to convince such a skilled assessor of the value of evidence as the former Lord Chief Justice of England that they were planning or aiding and abetting in crimes of violence".

As to this passage, Mr. Dunne thought it could be justified as fair comment. The position was that C. R. Das had charged the Government with proclaiming the new Ordinance for the purpose of attacking the Swarajya party. It was fair comment to reply that his charge was untrue, and that the Ordinance has been issued and put in force because the Government had evidence which satisfied Lord Reading that the persons arrested were engaged in a conspiracy of violence.

This was a fair comment on a matter of public interest.

The second passage which reads thus :—

"Since he was arrested the friends of the Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Corporation have not ceased to declare that he was, in addition to being too busy, the very last man in the world to engage in revolutionary activities. Our contemporary, the *Catholic Herald*, however, reports Mr. S. C. Bose's father as expressing his joy that his son's work 'was keeping him away from revolutionary activities and severing him from dangerous connections.' Through lack of evidence in support of its contention, we are unable to follow our contemporary in its assumption that Mr. Bose has been arrested for an old offence, but his father's statement is of importance as showing that one who knows him even better than Mr. C. R. Das has had occasion to deplore his 'dangerous connections' " it would be necessary to justify.

I suggested that the passage might be taken as merely an attempt to corroborate and confirm the passage of fair comment by showing that one of the arrested persons, by

the testimony of his own father, was in need of being kept away from "revolutionary activities."

Mr. Dunne agreed that, if justification was not possible it would be necessary to link the latter passage with the fair comment, but he was not sure how that argument would be received.

I may mention here, as bearing on Mr. G. W. K.'s valuable note, that the case being a civil action for damages would not come before a jury. But some Indian judges are scarcely to be trusted more than Indian jurors.

Mr. Dunne went on to say that he thought the Government ought to give all the assistance in their power, and that the first thing to do was to approach the Bengal Government in order to find out if they were prepared to supply such evidence as they could safely publish by way of providing material for cross-examining S. C. Bose, or otherwise justifying the innuendo of revolutionary activity.

I reminded Mr. Dunne that the plea put forward by the Government for issuing the Ordinance was that while they were satisfied that they had evidence sufficient to prove the guilt of the persons arrested, they were not able to take ordinary legal proceedings, because they could not produce their witnesses without exposing these to the danger of being murdered. Would it not be open to the Government to say that they could not give "THE ENGLISHMAN" evidence which could be traced to the Government without going back on their main grounds of defence of the ordinance? Mr. Dunne in reply said that it was hardly likely that the Government were relying wholly upon oral evidence of witnesses, and that it was almost certain that they would have some documentary proof of the guilt of the arrested persons. It is to the interests of the Government obviously to help "THE ENGLISHMAN" to fight the case. "I suppose," he added, "THE ENGLISHMAN has no proof on its own account of Bose's revolutionary activities." I said that I did not think so, and that I strongly suspected they had none, but were relying on the assurance of Government that all the persons arrested were connected with revolutionary activities. "Then," said Mr. Dunne, "it seems to me that the

first thing to do is to approach the Bengal Government and to ask them what assistance they are prepared to give by way of evidence in fighting the case, pointing out to them that unless they are prepared to place such evidence as they can safely produce at our disposal, it may be necessary for us to climb down and apologise so far as the second paragraph is concerned." Finally, Mr. Dunne again said that he would like time to consider the case before giving a definite opinion, and for that purpose he would require, as I have said before, a copy of Regulation III of 1818, the Bengal Ordinance, and the statement made by Lord Reading and Lord Lytton. I have now obtained all these papers, and they are being despatched today to Mr. C. Howard Austin for transmission to Mr. Dunne.

I should add that Mr. Dunne said that it would be necessary to act promptly, for the Statement in reply to the filing of the action by Bose would be required within a few days.

THE INDIA OFFICE

In accordance with the instruction in your letter, Rattigan and I went round to the India Office today (Friday). Rattigan had by chance had an opportunity the previous day of asking whether it would be possible for us to see Lord Birkenhead on the subject. The staff at the India Office, however, raised various difficulties. They did not want to trouble Lord Birkenhead in the matter at this stage, and they also indicated that in a matter of this kind, there was a risk of giving offence either to the Government of Bengal or to the Government of India, by appearing to interfere in an affair that was within their jurisdiction. Undiscouraged by these difficulties, Rattigan and I went to the India Office and saw Lord Evans. He very kindly supplied us with a copy of Regulation III of 1818 and of the Bengal Ordinance of 1924. He suggested our seeing Mr. Hose, who was in charge of these criminal proceedings, and we explained the whole matter to him. At first he was inclined to be chary of expressing an opinion, because he had not all the facts before him, and it was possible that the Bengal Government

might say that 'THE ENGLISHMAN' in its comments had gone beyond what was necessary, and that it could not come to the assistance of the paper in extricating itself from the results of its own indiscretion. However, in response to Rattigan's arguments and to Rattigan's account of the way in which the Punjab Government had assisted him when Lajpat Rai took proceedings against the "PIONEER" and "THE ENGLISHMAN", Mr. Hose showed less timidity. He said that he was afraid that the Government would not be able to offer much assistance. So far as his recollection went of the papers connected with S. C. Bose, the case rested entirely on the testimony of witnesses who spoke of their knowledge of the intimate relations between S. C. Bose and his revolutionary gang. His impression was that there were no papers. However, he was sure that the Government of Bengal would desire to afford every possible assistance, and in order to make it clear to the Bengal authorities that the India Office had no objection whatever to their helping in the case, he was prepared to submit to Lord Birkenhead a cablegram to that effect. He proceeded there and then to write out a draft which seemed to both Rattigan and myself quite satisfactory, and calculated to have the effect, if sent, of relieving the Government of Bengal of any fear of hostile comment on the part of the India Office.

We then went to see Sir Edward Chamier, who is now Legal Adviser to the India Office. He was quite sympathetic, but not very encouraging. He thought that the Bengal Government would be desirous of helping, but if their evidence was that of persons likely to be shot if their identity were disclosed, the Government might not be able to help. He did not think that it would be enough for the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal to go into the witness box and merely state that the Government had evidence which satisfied them as to the guilt of Mr. Bose.

199. *From Sarat Chandra Bose*

Censored and Passed

Illegible

17.7.26.

for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.

Bengal.

38/1, Elgin Road

17.7.26.

1 p.m.

My dear Subhas,

I intended to write you a long letter today answering in detail your last three letters but I find I have not the time to do so. Goswami and I are leaving for Rajshahi today. From there we proceed to Jalpaiguri. There we meet Mrs. Naidu and Goswami will then accompany her. I shall be back here on Wednesday or Thursday morning. We are going out on a quasi-political mission.

I am really anxious to know how you are keeping. Chronic indigestion and constantly losing weight are not things which can be neglected. I think you had better apply to be taken to some hill station in the U.P. or to Murree. I do not think there can be any objection to your removal to a distant place like Mussorie or Murree or to some place in the Simla district. Of course, some objection might be raised to transferring you to a Bengal hill station.

I have considered the matter and I would ask to send in a representation to Govt. at once.

This leaves us well.

Yours very affly

SARAT

Subhas C. Bose Esq.

200. From Sarat Chandra Bose

38/1, Elgin Road
31st July, 1926
Saturday 9 p.m.

Censored and Passed

Illegible

2.8.26.

for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.

Bengal.

My dear Subhas,

I believe my last letter to you was on the 17th instant. I came back to Calcutta on the 21st instant after finishing the Rajshahi District. After staying at Rajshahi for a couple of days, we went to Puttia, Natore and Naogaon. In spite of the communal conflicts in the adjoining district of Pabna, Rajshahi has kept her head cool. We succeeded in forming a volunteer organisation in the Rajshahi district to combat communal troubles and do relief work in the villages etc. If all the districts of Bengal work on these lines, I think we shall steadily (though perhaps slowly) solve the communal question. Of course, preachers (specially reliable Mahomedan preachers) and trained instructors are needed to make the volunteer organisation a success. I very much wish I were able to devote more time to this work but unfortunately, that is not to be.

In your letter of the 17th June last, you asked me if Woodroffe had left any *chelas* among the members of the bar. You do not know how poor the Calcutta Bar is now in talent. There is hardly anyone who devotes himself to higher things.

I do not know who Barada Kanto Mazumdar is. He must be some Sanskrit Scholar in Benaras.

I have not sent your note to Rakhal Das Banerji yet. I have not met him for ages. I thought it would be better to meet him and hand over your note to him. But I couldn't find him to do so at the time I received your letter and then the matter passed out of my recollection.

Dr. Narendra Nath Law has sent me five books for being forwarded to you. I shall send them on Tuesday next.

I had a talk with the Actg. C.E.O. this afternoon about giving the South Calcutta National School permission to play in the Hazra Park. Santosh Babu was present at that time and he pressed their claims on the attention of Mr. Mukherjee. Mukherjee has promised to go into the matter at an early date.

Have I told you that Prithwis has after all got a job in the Collection Dept. He is Inspector in that dept. on a pay of Rs. 150/- per month.

I believe you have read in the papers that the Working Committee of the Congress at their last meeting held in Calcutta have resolved that both communities should accept the resolutions passed at the Unity Conference of 1924 and proceed on those lines. I think it was a right decision. The Pact has become so thoroughly odious to both Hindus and Moslems that it would be wise to drop it and wait for a more suitable opportunity for entering into some other (and if possible, a better) agreement between the two communities. Of one thing I feel certain and that is, separate electorate must go; otherwise the question cannot be solved.

Have you received copies of Jones's letters which I sent to you some time ago? So after all, there is "no documentary evidence" against the person who has been described as the "brain of the conspiracy" by *The Statesman*!

Satya Babu is now acting as Editor. I think he is doing the work quite well. He is a very junior man no doubt, in the journalistic profession but he has imagination. We have two apprentices now in the *Forward* but I can't say yet how they will shape.

I do not think it would be possible to take back Chakravarti into the *Forward*. He is so unsteady.

Before this reaches you, you will have read the news of Chakravarti's acquittal in the Section 108 C.P.C. case. What a pity he signed the bond! It made us so small before the public.

You have been very reticent in your letters about yourself. In your letter of the 26th June last, you say that

your weight is 144 lbs. Have you gained any since? What is the *net loss in weight* since you were at Berhampore?

I think it would be wise to give up all ideas of hard study so long as you are in confinement. Too much mental strain would not be right in the present state of your health. By the way, have you applied for transfer to some hill station?

Gopali has not yet made up his mind as to his future course of study. He is still at Cuttack.

Sunil is expected here about the middle of next month.

Khuku (Mejdidi's daughter) is going to be married on Tuesday next to the second son of Babu Apurba Krishna Mitra, a leading pleader of Muzzeferpore. The bridegroom will join the Muzzeferpore Bar.

You have enquired about my health. This year I have not been keeping very well. I suffer from indigestion off and on—possibly due to overwork. I am taking some Kavi-raji medicines and they have done me good. I haven't yet decided where to spend the long vacation. I have decided to go to Ceylon if I get a professional engagement there (a commission to examine witnesses there in a Calcutta case). If I do not get it, I do not know where I am going. What do you think of Maymyo? The one attraction is that I can see you off and on. Is the place sufficiently bracing? Possibly your jail visitors can give you the necessary information.

When did you write to me last? The last letter I have on my table is dated 30/6/26. It might be I have mislaid letters written by you after that date.

Please make it a point to write to me all about yourself in your letter in reply to this.

This leaves us well. With love,

Yours very affly
SARAT

Subhas C. Bose Esq.
P.S.

Mr. Sukumar Sen (Bhombal's father-in-law) has applied for the post of Asst. Secretary of the Corporation. He has

sent me a copy of his application in which he has stated that some time ago he left his original certificates with you. Do you remember where you kept them?

Prof. Birendra Ch. Mukherji (who was in the Presidency College during your time and subsequently at Rajsahhi) is another applicant for the job. He came to see me a fortnight or 3 weeks ago and I told him that I would write to you about him and ascertain your views. What is your opinion about him?

Please tell me all you know about Prof. Birendra Mukherji and Mr. Sukumar Sen. S.C.B.

201. To Sarat Chandra Bose

Mandalay
7.8.26

My dear brother,

Your letters of the 10th July, 17th July and 31st July reached me on the 17th July, 27th July and 7th August respectively. I am sorry I have not been able to write to you for the last two or three weeks.

I received typed copies of Jones' letter, his note etc. along with your letter of the 10th July. They were exceedingly interesting and amusing.

During the hungerstrike my weight dropped to 138 lbs. It subsequently rose to 145 lbs. (or 144 lbs.) and has been stationary at 143 for the last few weeks. Just before the strike it was 155 and at Berhampore it was 183. In your letter of the 17th July you asked me to send a representation to Govt. asking for a transfer to some hill station in Upper India. I have considered the matter carefully and I do not think I shall gain anything by doing so, beyond receiving a curt refusal which will embitter me still more. It is better for me to put up with present circumstances with equanimity. After all, no one can rob me of my peace of mind.

Some time ago you asked for my opinion regarding a compromise with *The Statesman*. I replied saying that I left the matter entirely in your hands, particularly because I was not aware of all the details of the situation. Since then

I have not had any further information regarding the matter.

With whom is Mrs. Das living now? With whom is Bhombal's family living and who is looking after them? I am glad to learn that you all are doing your best to console her. How are her relations and former friends behaving now in Deshbandhu's absence?

Have you received any samples of clothing from Kashmir yet? If not, when do you expect them?

What do you intend doing with the historical note I sent some time ago? If you can't get Rakhal Babu you may try Babu Bijoy Mazumdar. He (Bijoy Babu) lives (at least he lived formerly) on Lansdowne Road. I have met him only once in my life—but he probably knows father as he was in Sambalpur for a long time. Bijoy Babu is undoubtedly a great scholar in more subjects than one and no less a giant than Rakhal Babu. Sri Brajendra Seal has paid him an eloquent tribute. Unfortunately there is no love lost between Bijoy Babu and Rakhal Babu. Bijoy Babu can easily help, if he is approached and feels inclined to do so. I wonder if Satya Babu knows him.

I am glad that your mission to Rajshahi was successful.

I hope Mukherji will be able to provide a playground for the boys of the South Calcutta National School. I shall write to the authorities of the School to go and see him with a letter from you.

I have not done any serious work during the last few weeks though the weather has been agreeable. I do not think I shall be able to undertake it before the cold weather. It is painful to allow one's days to pass without making the most of them. I doubt if such an opportunity for quiet study will be open to me when I am out.

I don't remember if I told you that under the orders of the Local Govt. lockup at night has been dispensed with in our case. This affords some relief no doubt. I am now sleeping on the verandah along with some others—so that we get the breeze from the South.

I find from my book that I wrote to you last on the 30th June. I have since written to *Mejobowdidi* on the 21st July. We can now write 4 letters a week instead of 3. This

has somewhat helped me in dealing with letters which had remained unattended to for a long time.

I am anxious to know that you have been suffering from indigestion. It is certainly due to overwork and want of physical exercise. Can't you take a morning constitutional? It may not do much good at the beginning but it is bound to have an enduring effect. Kaviraji medicine will also be of great help. I took Kaviraji medicine regularly for 2 months during last winter and I felt greatly benefited. I shall write to you about Maymyo in my next letter. I find that tea is very bad for indigestion, though as indigestion sets in, the craving for tea increases. I think tea taken after 5 or 6 p.m. is particularly harmful. It kills one's appetite for dinner.

You wanted to know if I desired to contest the North Calcutta seat for the Bengal Council. I was expecting the suggestion from some other quarter and I was a bit surprised when I got it from you. I had made up my mind long ago in anticipation of the coming suggestion but your query set me thinking afresh. After mature deliberation, on the 5th August I communicated my decision not to contest the North Calcutta seat for the Bengal Council. It is not necessary to give all the reasons which led me to that decision—you can easily imagine them.

Babu Surendra Nath Biswas (late Raisahib) a non-co-operating pleader of Madaripore in Faridpore District who has applied for the post of Asst. Secretary has asked me to recommend his case to you and Sukumar Babu. His request has placed me in a very false position. Not knowing who the other applicants are and without being asked by the Corporation, I do not like to recommend any one either to the Corporation or to any member of it. I am going to write to Suren Babu in that strain. His qualifications he can easily put down on paper and beyond that what can I say? The Acting C.E.O. will probably be asked officially to give his opinion—not I. Probably the Committee will interview the candidates and form their own opinion. Suren Babu was a Rai Sahib, an influential pleader in Madaripore, probably the Chairman or Vice-Chairman of the Local Board for some

time and a member of it for about 12 years. He had been to jail during the Non-co-operation movement and he worked for the Congress. He was probably in charge of the relief operations in Madaripore quite recently.

Mr. Sukumar Sen applied for some job about 2 years ago and sent his original certificates to me at the time. I kept them with my letters and papers at home and they may have been taken away by the Police after the search. In any case they must be there still. I told *Rangamamababu* when he was here last about it and asked him to find out the certificates and return them to Mr. Sen. He probably forgot about the matter. Please ask someone to make a search for them in my room.

I have never had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Sen and I am afraid I have no firsthand knowledge of him.

Prof. Birendra C. Mukherji was appointed Lecturer in Philosophy when I was a student of the 3rd year class of the Presidency College. He had a good career, obtained a first class at the M.A. exam. (if my memory does not fail me) and as a lecturer he made a good impression. He was not confirmed in his post and thereupon left for the Carmichael College, Rangpur. At Rangpur he had some row with the authorities—including probably the European Principal and the Dt. Magistrate. The quarrel was a protracted one and Prof. Mukherji ultimately brought a libel suit against the Magistrate. I don't remember the details of the suit or how it ended. During the quarrel Prof. Mukherji left the College (or was asked to leave I don't know which) and joined the N.C.O. movement. His work as a non-co-operator was confined more or less to Rangpur District where he attained popularity and celebrity. During the movement he found himself in jail and was transferred from Rangpur to Alipore Central Jail when I was there along with Deshbandhu and others. During the movement he was an orthodox, and I should say austere, non-co-operator—would not wear shoes or take foreign salt, was a vegetarian in his diet and donned the Gandhi cap. He was in jail for a year or so. After his release he has not been in the limelight and I have not met him either. Altogether he gives one the impression of being an

able, straightforward and reliable man. The non-co-operation movement probably made him too serious at the cost of geniality and humour but I have no idea as to what he is like now. I do not know who the other candidates are—but it will not be easy to get an abler candidate for the job. I would not have written all this if you had not expressly asked me to do so.

I will not make this letter longer as I want it to get through as soon as possible. I shall write to you again on Wednesday next.

Hope this will find you all well.

Yours v. affly
SUBHAS

S. C. Bose Esq.
38/1, Elgin Road,
Calcutta

202. To Basanti Devi*

Mandalay Jail
(C/o. D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.
13 Elysium Row, Calcutta)
21.7.26

Censored and Passed
Illegible
28/7/26
for D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.
Bengal

Revered mother,

I wrote to you at your Patna address a long time ago—I hope you duly received that letter. I sat down to write to you on the 16th June but my fingers would not move after doing a few lines. That letter I could not complete till today; so I sat down to write afresh. To think of the storm that has since passed over you makes one tremble. Is God so

* Translated from the original Bengali.

cruel? Must He test man in such a manner? On receipt of news of the misfortune on the afternoon of the 29th June, I sent you a telegram according to the wishes of all the rest here; thereafter I wanted to write to you but failed to find any words. What could I write? What could I say? How could I console you? How could I lighten the burden of your sorrow? I could not make up my mind at all. I want so keenly to see you—but that wish cannot be fulfilled. Who knows if it will ever be fulfilled in this life? We have become reconciled to permanent settlement here. The vision of the Mother, of Mother Bengal, of the Universal Mother—all that we adore—have and will become even more adorable, sacred and dear to us within the confines of the prison. They will remain fresh in our minds all the time but their presence in our imagination will make our separation from the material world all the more poignant.

There is no certainty how many days, months or years we have to spend gazing at those sacred and glorious figures in our mental horizon as at stars in the sky. Even so I will continue to believe that human spirit is true, his life is true and the bond between man and man is true. Life is eternal even though this life may end—the bonds of life will not come to an end. Earthly power may imprison us, may rob us of everything but cannot put an end to life; neither can it interfere with the ever-lasting and sacred bonds of life. We are able and prepared to disregard all the suffering and shackles of the present, dreaming and thinking of the glorious future that awaits us. We shall endure the dismal darkness of the present in anticipation of the dawn of the future. That is why, in spite of being utterly helpless, we are patiently waiting for the glorious morning ahead.

Justice will prevail in the world—this we cannot but accept. Therefore I believe that our turn will also come one day. When it does, we shall fully avenge ourselves for the desolation and emptiness of the present. It is because of this faith that we have survived and shall survive the dead weight of our present material existence.

Well, I have said so much rubbish. I feel anxious for you all the time. How are you? I was pleased to learn that

Mejdada and *Mejobowdidi* visit you often. There is nothing new about us here.

Yours devotedly

SUBHAS

203. From Dr. Sundari Mohan Das*

109 Upper Circular Road

Calcutta

27.5.26

Dear Subhas,

From today's newspaper I have come to learn that you have lost 20 *sheers* of your weight due to dyspepsia. Do you suffer from diarrhoea too? If you do, then take the following medicines after consulting your doctor:

Lacto Peptin gr. X

Taka Diastase gr. II fs

Bismuth Subnitrate gr. X

Pulv Ipecac Co. gr. III

M.Menth Pip MT

Mft Pulv. send 8 such

One thrice a day after food

If "Gandal" leaves are available, then as your diet take the soup of that leave with well boiled soft rice.

If you suffer from acidity and constipation then take the following medicines:

Sodi Bicarb gr. 12

— Sulph gr. 3

Taka Diastase Liq. 3i

Spt: Ether Chlor m x v

send 8 such

Remark twice a day after meals.

Anyway, I hope that by the grace of God we will meet soon.

I have come to know this from Dr. Kumud Shankar that you wanted to know about the state of affairs of the

* Translated from the original Bengali.

Jatiya Ayurvijnan Vidyalaya.

By your efforts a house and a plot of land in the Entally area could be acquired. The hospital was taken there in the year 1925, on 16th January. The hospital has been named Chitta Ranjan Hospital. Probably you have read about all these in the newspapers.

Such a large number of patients come to the hospital that now it has become imperative to extend the hospital. In the meeting which was held last Wednesday Rs. 1,00,000 was sanctioned. A surgical annexe with up to date equipments would be set up there named after Chittaranjan Das. This could be done because of the initiative taken by Sarat Babu (Sarat Chandra Bose). Without the motion taken by Sarat Babu, it would have been difficult to pass the resolution sanctioning the money.

In no time, the hospital will have 150 beds. The recurring grant given by Corporation was Rs. 7,500/- and now most probably it will rise to Rs. 12,000/-. Of course it is very difficult to run a hospital with this small sum. So we have got to go to the public with begging bowls. Had you been here amongst us we would have even asked *The Statesman*, *Englishman* etc. to give us money out of their fund.

Let us stop talking about money. Your compatriots are anxious to see you back amongst them with your health intact.

I shall talk to you about the affairs of the Calcutta Corporation when we will meet again. There everybody, the Councillors, the Executive Officers and Clerks, all feel the absence of you. I pray to God to bring you back amongst us again, cured of all diseases and in sound health.

Wishing you well,

Yours sincerely,
SUNDARI MOHAN DAS

304. To Shibnath Chatterjee*
322 Harish Chandra Ghat Road
Benaras City

Mandalay Jail
4.6.26

Dear Shibnath,

I cannot simply express how happy I was when you remembered me at the time of your marriage. The day I got your letter in the morning on that very day I suddenly had recollections about you. Before that for a pretty long time my mind just missed remembering you. Your letter took a long time to reach me because you wrote your letter bearing the address of this place.

Your letter evoked in my mind many old and sweet memories of our college days. Floating in the sea of life we have drifted apart from each other. Now I feel like asking you so many questions—how far have you progressed in your agricultural ventures? What about the journal with themes historical which you had been publishing—is it still in circulation? What kind of research work you are doing now and apart from teaching at the college and studying things connected with your teachings what more subjects are you studying now? I am sure by now you have become a veritable encyclopaedia of knowledge. In your College days you were a very well-read man and I am sure that during these few years you have been pursuing knowledge incessantly. Anyway I need your help regarding a few things and let me tell about them one by one. Where is Kshetresh and how is he and what is he doing? Would it be possible for you to ask him whether he is in a position to write letters to me? As a matter of fact I need his help for a few things and because of that if we can correspond with each other that will be greatly helpful. If he agrees then please furnish me with his address.

1. Is it true that Dr. Naren Laha and others have brought

* Translated from the original Bengali.

out an English journal dealing with historical themes? Is it any good and does it contain articles and papers based on original research?

2. Is there any other book of Rakhal Das Bandopadhyay apart from the book he wrote on the history of Bengal?

3. In the preface of the book called "Banglar Itihas" by Bhudeb Mukhopadhyay, it is written "Banglar Itihas" Pratham Vag, Nawab Alibardi Khan-er shashan kal parjanta Ramgati Naya Ratna Birachita (i.e. History of Bengal 1st Part, till the time of Alibardi Khan's rule by Ramgati Naya Ratna). In the preface it is indicated that the 2nd part was written by Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar covering the period up to the time of Lord Bentinck. Can you tell me where these two books are available?

4. Are there any translations in Bengali of the Sam Veda, Yayur Veda and the Atharva Veda? (I have heard that there are translations by Durgadas Lahiri). If there are such translations, would it be possible for you to send them here for a few days after getting the books from somebody or from any bookshop?

5. Is there any comparative study in Bengali of the Veda and the Avesta? (I heard that there are books like that in the German language). If such a book is there where is it available?

6. If you can send me a syllabus of the Calcutta University of the M.A. Course having a list of books on Bengali language and literature, on Oriya language and literature (I do not know exactly whether there is any M.A. Course in Oriya in the Calcutta University), on Marathi language and literature, Indian History, on Economics, on Politics, on Ancient Indian History and Culture, on Comparative Philology, etc.—that will be very good.

7. Have you in your possession any such books dealing with the History of India, the History of Bengal, with Education and Culture—books which you can spare for a few days without causing any inconvenience to you? Please send me a list of those books.

8. Are there any books dealing with the History of Assam and the country of Annam? If there are any such books

where are they available?

9. Do you know whether there is any chronological account regarding the emergence, rise and fall of religious movements in India? If any such account is available please inform me.

10. Is there any book on the History of Indian Philosophy which deals with the whole thing chronologically as it is usually done in the history of Western Philosophy? The book which Surendra Nath Dasgupta wrote on this subject—does it deal with the theme chronologically, dealing with the relation between the schools chronologically or just logically?

11. In the first part of his Banglar Itihas, Rakhal Das Bandopadhyay writes about the racial affinity of the Bengalees with the Dravidians and also shows racial affinity of the Dravidians with the Sumerians. Do you know whether any more research has been done in that field? Rakhal Das Bandopadhyay has referred to the theory of Professor Hall where it is maintained that the ancient homeland of the Dravidians was India and from this homeland about 2000 B.C. they migrated to Babylon through Baluchistan and established there a kingdom—is the theory still acceptable? Has any more light been thrown on this topic? In which journal or book can I have a very good account about the discovery of Mohenjodaro?

Swami Vivekananda has written in the article 'Aryans and Tamilians' (The complete works of Swami Vivekananda, Mayavati Memorial Edition pp 246, 247) that "unless Pandit Savariroyan has undertaken in his article on the 'Admixture of the Aryan with Tamilian' in the *Siddhanta Deepika* to clear away a lot of haze we are glad also that he boldly pushes forward the Akkado-Sumerian racial identity of the ancient Tamilians. . . . We would also suggest that the land of the Punt of the Egyptians was not only Malabar but that the Egyptians as a race boldly migrated from Malabar across the ocean . . . to which Punt they have been always fondly looking back as the home of the blessed." Is there any book or writing by Pandit Savariroyan available? Is there any book or essay available supporting or opposing the theory

which Swami Vivekananda has put forward regarding *Punt* ?
12. I want to buy the following books but I don't know where they are available. It will be very good if you can arrange with some book shop for sending these books to me through V.P.P. I think at least a few of these books will be available in the Bangabasi Karyalay or Sanskrit Press Depository.

1. Haratatta didhiti compiled by Harakumar Thakur and published by Sourendra Mohon Thakur.
2. Harivakti Bilas (a book on Vaisnabi Smriti by Gopal Vatta).
3. Shuddhitattam
4. Shradhatattam
by Raghunandan Bhattacharya. Published by Bangabasi and Chandicharan Smriti Bhusan
5. Atrisamhita
6. Visnu Samhita
7. Harit Samhita
8. Yajñabalkya Samhita
9. Usana Samhita
10. Ajñira Samhita
11. Yama Samhita
12. Upastamba Samhita
13. Sambarta Samhita
14. Kyattayan Samhita
15. Brihaspati Samhita
16. Parasara Samhita
17. Vyas Samhita
18. Sankha Samhita
19. Likhita Samhita
20. Daksha Samhita
21. Goutama Samhita
22. Shatatapa Samhita
23. Vashistha Samhita
24. Baudhayana Samhita

There are translations by Panchanan Tarkaratna of these Samhitas from Atrisamhita to Vashistha Samhita. It will be better if I can have Bengali translations of these with the original Sanskrit Slokas given. Failing that only Bengali

translations will do.

13. Could you get the information from the University whether instruments used by students of Physical Anthropology to measure human faces, eyes, noses, heads etc., are available in Calcutta, if available where and with which shops and what is the approximate price?

I have asked you so many questions and made so many claims in the same breath and I think you will not mind it. Among so many questions and claims whatever is possible for you to answer and to fulfil that will be enough for me. I can jolly well understand that despite your wish and efforts it will not be possible for you to answer all the questions at a time. So do please write the answers at your convenience and send them to me.

If you write letters then send them at the following address : C/o. D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D. (Bengal), 13 Elysium Row, Calcutta : If you write letters at the present address the letters will reach me after a long time because letters from Calcutta are not given to us without being censored. If you send books, send them at the following address—C/o. The Superintendent, Central Jail, Mandalay, Upper Burma. While sending the parcels containing the books, also send a letter of intimation to the Jail Superintendent by post which will be very helpful because then the officers of the Jail will take special care of the parcels.

No good lengthening the letter. Make me happy by sending good news about you all.

Your affectionately,
SUBHAS

P.S. If you have books by Jaiswal, would it be possible for you to send them.

SUBHAS

205. To The Superintendent,
Mandalay Jail.

Mandalay
22.7.26

Dear Sir,

As we have informed the Insein Jail what books we are going to buy out of the Govt. grant, it would be useful to know what books they have bought already or intend buying. This would help mutual exchange. It would also be desirable to know what sum they are going to spend out of the grant of Rs. 200/- in buying books. We can then spend the balance ourselves. I shall be glad if you write to the Superintendent, Insein Jail regarding the above points.

Yours faithfully,
S. C. BOSE

206. To The Superintendent,
Mandalay Jail.

Mandalay
22.7.26

Dear Sir,

I shall be obliged if you write to the Deputy Commissioner, Mandalay, asking him to lend us the following books :—

- 1) Vol V of the Upper Burma Gazetteer.
- 2) Vols I and II of the British Burma Gazetteer (of Lower Burma).
- 3) Reports of the Archaeological Department of the Govt. of Burma for the last 3 years.

We would also be glad to know if he has any histories of Burma in his Library, which he could conveniently spare.

Yours faithfully
S. C. BOSE

207. To The D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D. Bengal
13, Elysium Row, Calcutta.

Mandalay
23.7.26

Dear Sir,

On the 7th May 1926, I wrote a letter to Mr. Sailendra Nath Ghoshal of 19B, Dalimtala Lane, Calcutta. On the 21st July, I received a letter from him written on the 15th July saying that he had not received the above letter. I have verified the date of despatch of my letter from two entries made by me in two separate books and from two entries made by the Jailer in charge in the two separate Jail books. I have therefore no doubt whatever that the letter in question was duly despatched from here and that it nevertheless did not reach its destination. I shall feel obliged if you order a search to be made in case the letter has been mislaid in your office and communicate to me the result.

Yours faithfully,
S. C. BOSE

208. To Gopabandhu Das

Address :—Mandalay
C/o. D.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.
Bengal
13 Elysium Row
Calcutta
26.7.26

My dear Gopabandhu Babu,

I wrote to you on the 7th April last but I have not yet received any reply from you. I hope however that you received my letter duly. I am glad to tell you that I have received the books you sent me last year. They were lying in this office all these days as no one there was able to read them and discovered lately. They are (1) Tribhasi (2) Barna bodh (3) Oriya Grammar (4) Sishubodh and (5) Pilanko Ramayana. I am anxious to know if you sent me a second parcel of books and if the above are all the books you sent in your first parcel. If I fail to get Oriya books

locally, I shall write to you when I have finished these and you can then instruct some book-seller to send me some suitable books by V.P.P. If the books come by V.P.P. there is no chance of their being miscarried or delayed in transmission. As soon as the books arrive, the fact will be brought to my notice as payment will have to be made.

I am anxious to have a reply to my former letter. How are you all doing? I am so so. Please accept my *pronamas* and remember me to friends.

Yours
SUBHAS

Pandit Gopabandhu Das
Samaj Office, Puri

P.S. Have you received Sj. Bijoy Mazumdar's book "Orissa in the making"? What is your opinion about it? I have not seen it myself but I have read some reviews of it.

209. To Bivabati Bose*

Mandalay Jail
27.7.26

My dear Mejobowdidi,

I received your letter of the 14th July today. I had already received Asoke's letter and shall reply to him soon. What sort of a job has *Nadada* now? Has he gone back to Sijuya to his old assignment or has he a new position? When *Sejdidi* returns to Gorakhpur, will she leave Gora behind or will she take all the children with her? I have not heard from parents for a long time. I saw in the Gazette that Gopali had passed. What will he do now? I was happy to know that you visit Basanti Devi from time to time. Where does she live nowadays? I feel extremely anxious to see her once—but there is no help for it. I am incapable of flattering the powers that be. It is indeed sad and unfortunate for me that in her hour of continuous tragedy, I was not able to be of any service to her.

* Translated from the original Bengali.

It rains very little here. Even so, the heat has been somewhat less this month. This is not a healthy time here—there is plenty of illness in the jail and in the city. One of us was down with something like influenza, called Sandfly Fever; it is said it comes from the bite of a particular kind of mosquito. Then, another had appendicitis. Still another got Dengue Fever. We were worried that it would turn out to be Typhoid, but there was remission on the sixth day. Nobody keeps well at this time—one does not feel like doing any work. I have had no serious trouble.

How are you all? When will the Puja vacation commence? During the holidays will you be going to Kurseong or elsewhere?

Nobody here has any serious illness for the present. From talks and arrangements going on we guess there is going to be further addition to our number. With my *pronamas*,

Yours
SUBHAS

210. To Bivabati Bose*

Mother Durga be with us

Mandalay Jail
28.7.26

My dear Mejobowdidi,

I have not so far replied to your letter of the 24th April. Are the results of Gopali's examination out yet? I received Asoke's and Aruna's letters rather late—I have replied to them. I hope they have duly received my letter. I learn from *Didi's* letter that Aruna is now with her in-laws. Where are *Bardidi* and her family now? Where is Bimal and how is he getting on with his studies?

June and July have been comparatively cool this year but I do not know if it will warm up again. But these two months are very unhealthy here. One by one all have taken to bed. I am of course up and about but I do not think my

* Translated from the original Bengali.

digestive troubles will get better or cured till the onset of cold weather. I have lost the interest that I had last year in work of any kind—it is now just a question of passing our days somehow. I am planning to devote myself to studies again when Winter arrives. I saw in the papers that it had been extremely hot over there and that there had been deaths due to heat. How is it now?

I wrote to *Mejdada* to engage instructors for teaching children painting and music at home. Initially, they will probably not go for them voluntarily and some compulsion will be necessary. But the good that will follow from all this they will enjoy for the rest of their lives. If I knew painting and music I could pass my days here much more happily.

The parrot is thriving on good food but I do not see any sign of parrotry yet. The pigeon family goes on enlarging—now we have six pairs. Two pairs are black and white, one pair has red feathers, another pair white and the remaining two have wings like the peacock's. These are beautiful to look at and dance about with their wings spread out like the peacock's. Two pairs of eggs are now being hatched. When they mature, there will be further addition to the family. When the pigeons perch in a row every morning around the tank—or rather the reservoir we have here, it is a really lovely sight.

Where are parents now and how are they? I have not heard from them for a long time. Are the results of *Choto-mama's* examination out yet? When will he and *Chotodada* return? I had not heard of Mira's typhoid fever before—*Didi's* letter brought me the news. How is Mira now? What job has *Nadada* got now? Is the job permanent or temporary? How is *Lalmamababu* getting on with his practice? Where are our other *Mamababus* and how are they? How is *Lalmamababu* keeping? Where is Gopali now? He could as well write to me. Will *Didi* stay with you or go to Cuttack? How is Polly's health nowadays? Have the products of *Sejdada's* factory been marketed yet?

Yours
SUBHAS

APPENDIX 1

RABINDRA NATH TAGORE'S LETTER TO DILIP KUMAR ROY REGARDING SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE'S LETTER TO DILIP KUMAR ROY dated 9. 10. 25

[Dilip Kumar Roy wrote a letter to Subhas Chandra Bose on the 27th September 1925 (Letter No. 54 at page 88 of this book) from Benaras. In this letter he talked about Russell, Romain Rolland and Sri Aurobindo. In answer to this letter Subhas Chandra wrote a letter to Dilip Kumar Roy on the 9th October 1925 (Letter No. 82 at page 129 of this book) from Mandalay Central Jail, Burma, in which he expressed his views on the function of art. Dilip Kumar Roy wrote to Subhas Chandra Bose on the 21st November 1925 (Letter No. 83 at page 133 of this book) and in the postscript to that letter he wrote: "I could not resist the temptation of sending your letter to Rabindranath who wrote back to me a letter extending over four pages in appreciation of your letter. He has written a very nice letter to me indeed, which I will show you someday." Roy published this letter from poet Tagore in his Bengali book called "Anami" pp. 331-333. A free English translation of Tagore's letter is published below.—Editor]

My dear Dilip,

I was very glad to receive your letter yesterday. Subhas has written a very fine letter—I was gratified to know about the qualities of his head and heart through the letter. What Subhas has said about art is unexceptionable. When art reaches its excellence, the gifted and those who can appreciate art also reach out to the highest level of perception. It cannot be expected that everyone is capable of easily reaching that level—it is there that clouds of a variegated range of aesthetics gather—and it is because clouds gather at that inaccessible height that rains come down from there to enrich the earth down below. This is how a link is established between the extraordinary and the ordinary, it cannot be done by downgrading what is high. Disaster takes place if those who create *Rasa* are made to cater to the demands of the market-place. The demand comes from the inner self of the artist. And if in response to that demand he can create something of permanent value, then that becomes naturally the property of all humanity. But even if it belongs to all, something so good is not that

cheap that everybody can avail of it rightaway. The blooms of the Spring are for all, but can we say that everybody appreciates them? Can we blame the mango blossoms just because they fail to evoke any response from everybody? Shall we say that the mango blossoms should rather be pumpkins? Should we say that in a poor country it is useless to have blossoms of *Bokul*¹—and that all flower gardens should in all fairness turn into brinjal fields? If the man without any aesthetic sense fails to even look at the *Bokul* blossoms, let the *Bokul* blossoms wait for him eternally; let them not in despair and at the instigation of well-wishers of common people try to turn into fields of arum. In Greece, plays by Sophocles and Aeschylus were written and staged for all and not for the privileged few. People there were lucky that they did not have to seek refuge in a Greek Dashu Roy. If the public in general are presented with the good things with respect, they get mentally prepared gradually to accept them. Let us tell the poet—may you create without hindrance the best that you are capable of; if the poet is successful, we shall tell the common people—may you be worthy of accepting what is the best.

Those who are creators of art and beauty, know of only what is true and untrue, good and bad—these two classes in the creation of art—they do not envisage one thing for the privileged few and the other for the commoner. There is a widely held belief that Shakespeare is a poet of the common people, but may I ask if Hamlet is a play for the commoner? I do not know how to classify Kalidasa, but he is praised by all without exception as a poet. I ask, if *Meghdoot* is recited to an assembly of villagers, will not such torture be punishable under the Criminal Code? If during Kalidas's time, a protagonist of the common people had usurped Vikramaditya's throne and ordered Kalidasa to do his bidding, would the prosaic text that would have taken the place of *Meghdoot* stood the test of Time? You may ask me the solution of this problem. I shall say that *Meghdoot* is well meant for the common village folk, but then it is the task of those who are above the common to make the common folk appreciate and claim *Meghdoot* as their own. It is not the duty of the poet to replace *Meghdoot* by a *panchali*² of the lotus and the bee loaded with cheap alliterations in the interest of people who cannot comprehend *Meghdoot*. Artificiality is a great defect in all artists and all poets. But to say that whatever is easily understood by all is natural and what requires cultivation of one's mental faculties is artificial, is a travesty of truth. It is because we look down upon the common people that we arrange for *chira*³ and curd for them outside the precincts of art and culture—and keep all the *sandesh*⁴ for those whom we call the upper class. It is because we have no respect for children that we assign the writing of children's literature to writers with closed minds. They consider childshly silly things to be children's literature. I respect children. Therefore when I teach children in our school I bring true literature for them—the kind of literature that we all can enjoy. Of course, I have to strive so that children can taste the essence of such literature. I cannot say that I have failed in this effort.

I need not have said so much to you—I am steadily getting so garrulous that I can hardly hold my tongue in the company of friends. Anyway, you have given me immense pleasure by sending Subhas's letter to me. In gratitude I wrote out so much in spite of having injured the right index finger with a pen-knife.

Yours
RABINDRA NATH TAGORE

- 1 Bokul: an indigenous fragrant flower.
- 2 a class of Bengali poems celebrating the glory of a deity.
- 3 Chira: Flattened rice.
- 4 Sandesh: a delicious sweetmeat made of casein.

APPENDIX 2

SPEECH BY THE MAYOR DESHBANDHU CHITTARANJAN DAS ON THE OCCASION OF PROTESTING AGAINST THE ARREST OF SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER OF THE CALCUTTA CORPORATION AT THAT TIME.

[At the time of arrest of Subhas, Satyendra, Anil Baran and others Deshbandhu, after his incessant and strenuous work was enjoying some rest at Simla and as soon as the news of this arrest reached his ears, came back to Calcutta in all haste. He then immediately called the general meeting of the Calcutta Corporation to protest against the arrest of Subhas and others and delivered a most wonderful Speech.]

These were the most memorable words of that speech—"..... All I can say is that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose is no more a revolutionary than I am. Why have they not arrested me? I should like to know why? If love of country is a crime, I am a criminal. If Subhas Chandra Bose is a criminal, I am a criminal—not only the Chief Executive Officer of the Corporation, but the Mayor of the Corporation is equally guilty (cries of hear, hear and applause).

"I cannot believe that it is intended to put down revolutionary crime. These Ordinances are directed against lawful organisations. They want to put down lawful organisation—I say.

"Just one word more and I have done. Subhas Bose's arrest under Regulation III of 1818 is a menace to this Corporation. Apart from any question of nationality, apart from any question of the national fight against the Government, it is a menace to this Corporation. If the Government is once allowed to touch the Chief Executive Officer, why, the Government can go on making arrest after arrest and making the administration of this Corporation impossible by Swarajists or by the majority of the members here. Take a concrete case. Suppose the Government thinks the administration, as undoubtedly some of them think, should not be left in the hands of the Congress people. Suppose from that point of view they go on arresting from the Chief Executive Officer downwards and make the administration by the members of the Congress impossible. That is the view I want you to consider and I say that from that point of view, apart from the personal question of Subhas Chandra Bose, apart from the more important political issue which arises, it is a menace to the Corporation, I ask you to express your protest in no uncertain manner condemning the Government for this action and expressing your confidence in the officer who has been taken away from you.

"Subhas Bose's arrest under Regulation III is a sheer brute force on the part of Bureaucracy. One fine morning he went out to do his work as the Chief Executive Officer of the Corporation. He returned home and found the Police Force in his house. Not one charge was made against him. No explanation was asked from him. Not one reason was urged before him but he was simply told "We have got the physical brute force here and we shall drag you to imprisonment. Is this not brute force? Is this law? Is this justice? Not one charge was formulated. Not one explanation was taken. But they simply carried him by force from his house and lodged him in Jail."

NOTES

- Achar*: Indian pickle.
Adhara: lit. receptacle; one who possesses.
Ami: Amiya Nath Bose, second son of Sarat Chandra Bose.
Anil Babu: Anil Baran Roy.
Armstrong: British Officer in Intelligence Branch, Criminal Investigation Department, Calcutta.
Aruna: Niece, eldest sister's daughter.
Arya: an English monthly published from Pondicherry and edited by Sri Aurobindo.
Ashar: Third month in Bengali calendar marked by heavy rains.
Ashathwa: Banyan tree (*Ficus Indica*).
Ashtanga: Ashtanga Ayurveda Vidyalaya, one of the Ayurvedic Colleges of Calcutta.
Asls: Blessing.
Asoke: Asoke Nath Bose, eldest son of Sarat Chandra Bose.
Ayurveda: Hindu system of Medicine (Ayus=Life; Veda=Science).
- Bakr-Id*: important Muslim festival.
Bangabani: Bengali monthly.
Bankudada: a cousin.
Baramamababu: Eldest maternal uncle, J. N. Dutt.
Bardada: Eldest brother, Satish Chandra Bose.
Bardidi: Eldest sister Pramila.
Basumati: a Bengali daily and monthly publication.
Bengalee, The: English daily founded by Surendra Nath Banerjea.
Bhagavad-Gita: Divine song, the essence of Hindu philosophy regarded as the Bible of the Hindus.
Bhombal: Chiraranjan Das, only son of Deshbandhu C. R. Das.
Bidhan Babu: Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy.
Bhriku-Samhita: Authoritative treatise on Indian astrology.
Bidyadhari: River near Calcutta.
Bijoya Dashami: Tenth lunar day in autumn and last day of worship of goddess Durga.
Bijoykaka: Bijoy Krishna Bose, Advocate, Councillor, Calcutta Corporation and Swarajist member of Bengal Legislative Council.
Bimal: nephew, eldest sister's son.
Biswas, Dr.: Dr. L. M. Biswas, District Health Officer, Calcutta Corporation.
Bose, Jitendriya: A leading advocate and Congress Councillor of Calcutta Corporation.
Bowdidi: Sister-in law.
Braja Babu: Brajagopal Goswami, Congress Councillor of Calcutta Corporation.

C. R.: Deshbandhu C. R. Das.
Catholic Herald: English daily.
Chakravarti P. K.: Editor of "Forward" for some time.
Channar Kalya: A Bengali dish—milk-casein cakes in gravy.
Channar Pulao: A Bengali dish of rice with casein cakes.
Chatterjee, Sarat (Sarat Babu): Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, eminent Bengali litterateur.
Chelas: Disciples.
Chotobowdidi: wife of Dr. Sunil Chandra Bose.
Chotodada: Fifth brother Dr. Sunil Chandra Bose.
Chotomama: Youngest maternal uncle R. N. Dutta.
Chunder, Mr.: Nirmal Chandra Chunder.
Coats: Chief Engineer, Calcutta Corporation 1920-32.

Dada: Eldest brother Satish Chandra Bose.
Dadkhani rice: Special variety of rice for easy digestion.
Dalgolas: godowns for pulses.
Das, Mrs.: Mrs. C. R. Das, Basanti Devi.
Das, P. R.: Prafulla Ranjan Das, brother of Deshbandhu C. R. Das.
Devi, Urmila: Sister of Deshbandhu C. R. Das.
Dharma: Religion.
Dhonkar dalna: Bengali dish—lentil balls in gravy.
Dhurjati: Dhurjati Prosad Mukherjea.
Didi: Elder sister.
Dilip: Dilip Kumar Roy.
Durga Puja: Worship of Goddess Durga.
Dutt, Romesh: Bengali litterateur.
Dr. Dwarkanath Mitter: a High Court Judge.

Englishman, The: English daily of Calcutta.

Father Gile: Editor of 'Catholic Herald'.
Findlay, Major: Superintendent, Rangoon Central Jail.
Forward: English daily founded by Deshbandhu C. R. Das,

Ganguli, O. C.: Ordhendu Coomer Ganguli, well-known connoisseur of Art.
Gita Bhashya: Commentary of the Gita written by B. G. Tilak in prison.
Ghosh, Rash Behari (Sir): Well-known lawyer, educationist and philanthropist.
Ghoom: Small town on the way to and 5 miles from Darjeeling.
Girin Mitter: Proprietor of the Book Company.
Gladding: Deputy Secretary, Political Branch, Government of Bengal.
Gopali: Seventh brother, Sailesh Chandra Bose.
Gora: Niece, third sister's daughter.
Goswami: Tulsi Chandra Goswami.
Gowkhana: Cattle sheds.

Gup: Gossip.
Guru: Religious teacher and guide.
Gurubhais: Disciples of the same religious teacher and guide.

Haldar, Mr.: Surendra Nath Haldar.
Hari Charan: Hari Charan Bagchi.
Hemendra Babu: Hemendra Nath Dasgupta.
Hilsa: Well-known Bengali fish.

Jaladhar Sen: Bengali writer, Editor of well-known monthly 'Bharat-varsha'.
Jamini Kaviraj: Kaviraj Jamini Bhusan Roy, leading Ayurvedic physician and founder of Ashtanga Ayurveda Vidyalaya.
Jatra: Indian folk drama.
Jilebi: Indian sweet made of cereal.
Jitendriya Babu: A leading advocate and Congress Councillor of Calcutta Corporation.
Jogesh Babu: Kaviraj Jogesh Chandra Sen, Councillor, Calcutta Corporation and Member, Bengal Legislative Council.

Kali: Hindu goddess of power.
Kanak: Youngest sister Kanaklata Mitra.
Kanchi Mama: Maternal uncle Satyendra Nath Dutt.
Karma: Work assigned by destiny.
Karmi Sangha: Workers' Association.
Kathakata: Popular talk in prose and lyric on religious subjects.
Kaviraj: Ayurvedic physician.
Kaviraj Bimalananda: Son of Kaviraj Shyamadas Vachaspati.
Kaviraj Mahasay
Kaviraj Shyamadas: Kaviraj Shiromani Shyamadas Vachaspati, leading Ayurvedic physician of Calcutta and physician and friend of of the Bose family.
Kazi Nazrul Islam: celebrated Bengali poet.
Kelsall, Col.: Senior physician, Rangoon Central Hospital.
Khaitan, Durga Prasad: Councillor, Calcutta Corporation 1932-38.
Khuro: lit. uncle; Sailendra Nath Bose, a relative and professional clerk of Sarat Chandra Bose.
Kiron Babu: Kiran Sankar Ray.
Kiran Sankar: Kiran Sankar Ray.
Kirtan: Devotional music usually on Shri Krishna and his activities.
Kshitish: Kshitish Prasad Chattopadhyaya, Netaji's contemporary of student days, later Education Officer, Calcutta Corporation and Professor of Anthropology, Calcutta University.
Kumud Sankar: a leading physician and Congressman.
Kundali: Zodiac circle relating to the particular hour of birth of a person.
Kurseong: Hill station on way to Darjeeling.

Lalmamababu: Maternal uncle, Satyendra Nath Dutt.

Lalmamima: Maternal aunt, Wife of Satyendra Nath Dutt.

Lokamanya: Popular title of Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

Lord Sinha: Satyendra Prasanna Sinha.

Madan Mohan Burman: a Congressman and Councillor, Calcutta Corporation.

Mahamahopadhyaya: A great professor.

Mahashtami: Eighth lunar day in autumn during the Durga Puja.

Manshatala Scheme: A development scheme for the slum areas of Manshatala area of Kidderpore, Calcutta, sponsored by Councillor Santosh Kumar Basu when Netaji was Chief Executive Officer.

Mamima: Maternal aunt.

Mejdada: Sarat Chandra Bose.

Mejobowdidi: Second sister-in law Bivabati, wife of Sarat Chandra Bose.

Mira: Eldest daughter of Sarat Chandra Bose.

Mitra, S. C.: Satyendra Chandra Mitra.

Mitter, Binod C.: 1872-1930, leading Calcutta barrister, Standing Counsel and Offg. Advocate General, Calcutta and finally Judge of Judicial Committee of Privy Council, London; conducted Netaji's defamation case against The Statesman in 1928.

Moberly, Mr.: A. N. Moberly, Home Member, Governor's Executive Council, Bengal.

Muddiman, Sir Alexander: Home Member, Viceroy's Executive Council.

Mulvany, Lt. Col.: British prison officer.

Nabowdidi: Fourth sister-in law, wife of Sudhir Chandra Bose.

Nadada: Fourth brother Sudhir Chandra Bose.

Nadumama: Maternal uncle R. N. Dutt.

Nakshatra: Constellation.

Nalini Babu: Nalini Ranjan Sarkar.

Nalu: Fourth brother Sudhir Chandra Bose.

Namama

Namamababu: Fourth maternal uncle.

Natundada: Fifth elder brother.

Natunmamababu: Fifth maternal uncle.

Niren: Prof. Niren Roy, a literary critic.

Nirmal Babu: Nirmal Chandra Chunder.

Nripen Babu: Nripendra Chandra Mitra.

Papad: An Indian crispy.

Pardeshi: Foreigner.

Patel, Mr.: Vithalbhai Patel.

Patterson, Mr.: A Prison Commissioner of England.

Polly: Fifth sister.

Prabhudayal: Prabhudayal Himatsingka.

Pronam: obeisance.

Pucca: Final.

Pundit: Learned person.

Purda: The system of seclusion of women.

Rabi Babu: Rabindra Nath Tagore.

Raja: King or Feudal Chief.

Rajanigandha: Polianthes Tuberosa; white lily-like fragrant flower.

Ramaprosad: Ramaprosad Mookerjee, eldest son of Asutosh Mookerjee.

Ramiah: Secretary, Calcutta Corporation.

Ramtaran Babu: Ram Taran Banerjee, leader of Alipore Civil Court Bar and Councillor, Calcutta Corporation.

Rangamamababu: Sixth maternal uncle, B. N. Dutt.

Raschid Khan: Haji Abdur Raschid Khan, Swarajist member of Bengal Legislative Council; second Deputy Executive Officer, Calcutta Corporation (1924).

Rashichakra: Science of the Zodiac.

Ray, Mrs.: Elder daughter of Deshbandhu, wife of Sudhir Chandra Ray.

Rosogolla: Well-known Bengali sweetmeat.

Roy, D. L.: Eminent Bengali litterateur Dwijendra Lal Roy.

Roy, Satish Chandra (S. C. Roy): First Deputy Executive Officer, Calcutta Corporation (1924).

Roy Chowdhury, Girija Sankar: Distinguished Bengali writer closely associated with Deshbandhu C. R. Das.

Rudra: Sudhir Kumar Rudra, a contemporary in England.

Sadhaka: Devotee.

Sadhana: Spiritual exercise.

Sailesh: Seventh brother Sailesh Chandra Bose.

Sandesh: Well known Bengali sweet made of casein.

Sanjibani: Bengali newspaper edited by Krishna Kumar Mitra which played an important role during Swadeshi and Anti-Partition Movements.

Sannyasa: Renunciation.

Santosh Babu: Santosh Kumar Basu.

Sati: Youngest brother Santosh Chandra Bose.

Satya Babu: Satya Ranjan Bakshi.

Satyen Babu: Satyendra Chandra Mitra.

Sarada: Oldest family maid who looked after Netaji in childhood.

Saraswati Puja: Worship of the Goddess of Learning.

Sejdidi: Third elder sister.

Sejobowdidi: Third sister-in-law Arun Prava, wife of Suresh Chandra Bose.

Sejojethamahasaya: Third senior uncle.

Sengupta: J. M. Sengupta.

Seva Sadan: Chittaranjan Seva Sadan, Women's Hospital in Calcutta, established in the house of Deshbandhu bequeathed by him to the nation.

Sevak Samity: Social Service Association.

Shastras: Scriptures.

Shraban: Fourth month of Bengali calendar.

Shyamadas Kaviraj: see Kaviraj Shyamadas.

Sirajganj Conference: Annual conference of Bengal Congressmen held at Sirajganj in 1924.

Sircar, N. N. (Sir): 1876-1945, well-known Calcutta barrister; Advocate-General of Bengal 1928-34; Law Member, Viceroy's Executive Council 1934-39; Sarat Chandra Bose was his professional pupil.

Sishya: Disciple.

Slokas: Psalms.

Smith, Captain (later Major): Superintendent, Mandalay Central Jail.

Statesman, The: English daily of Calcutta; for Netaji's defamation case against the paper, *vide* Calcutta Weekly Notes, 32,490 (January 1928) and Indian Law Reports, 55, 1121 (January 1928).

Subjanta: An all-knowing person.

Sudhir: Fourth brother Sudhir Chandra Bose.

Sudhir Babu: Dr. Sudhir Kumar Basu, elder brother of Santosh Kumar Basu.

Sudhir Roy: Elder son-in-law of Deshbandhu C. R. Das.

Sundari Babu: Dr. Sundari Mohan Das, a leading physician and Congressman.

Sunil: Fifth brother Dr. Sunil Chandra Bose.

Swadeshi: National, Indigenous.

Swadharma: One's own religion.

Tammany Banerjea: Surendra Nath Banerjea.

Tarapore, Col.: Head of the Prison Department, Burma.

Temple, Mr.: F. C. Temple, Chief Administrative Officer, Tata Iron and Steel Co., Jamshedpur.

Tiger Hill: A high point near Darjeeling from where Mt. Everest can be viewed.

Totka: Indigenous herbal medicine.

Tulsi

Tulsi Babu: Tulsi Chandra Goswami.

Uncle Kanchi: Maternal uncle Satyendra Nath Dutt.

Upanishads: Ancient Sanskrit Treatises on Hindu Philosophy.

Upendra Babu: Upendra Nath Banerjea.

Vaidyasastrapith (Baidyashastrapith): Ayurvedic College founded by Kaviraj Shyamadas Vachaspati.

Yoga: Union with Godhead; the word indicates the goal as well as the means.

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